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The Sweet Singer of Michigan Bibliographically Considered*

By A. H. GREENLY

"HERE is something, which will probably interest you," said a New York bookseller who knew my interest in Michigiana, handing me one day in 1934 a couple of disreputable-looking pamphlets containing verse by Julia A. Moore, a name I did not remember ever having heard. One had a piece of brown paper glued tight to the original wrapper, with title-page reading, *The Sentimental Song Book* by Julia A. Moore. The other bore both on wrapper and title-page the legend, *The Sweet Singer of Michigan.* They stimulated in me a desire to find out more about the somewhat mythical character I had heard of as a boy in Michigan, whose appellation had vaguely suggested something funny. The removal of the brown paper from the wrapper by an expert disclosed the original wrapper intact and well preserved. The front cover read, *The Sweet Singer of Michigan Salutes the Public.* It also bore an engraving of her which was a shock to my conception of what a lady poet should look like. Her astonishing coiffure indicated an abundance of hair, not very well under control. Bill Nye, then a young journalist in Wyoming,

* Read at the meeting of the Society 26 January 1945.

commented on this portrait in *Bill Nye and Boomerang*, published in 1881, as follows:

> A portrait of the author appears on the cover of the little volume. It is a very striking face. There are lines of care about the mouth — that is, part way around the mouth. They did not reach all the way around because they didn't have time. Lines of care are willing to do anything that is reasonable, but they can't reach around the North Park without getting fatigued. These lines of care and pain look to the student of physiognomy as though the author had lost a good deal of sleep trying to compose obituary poems. The brow is slightly drawn, too, as though her corns might be hurting her. Julia wears her hair plain, like Alfred Tennyson and Sitting Bull. It hangs down her back in perfect abandon and wild profusion, shedding bear's oil over the collar of her delaine dress, regardless of expense.

An effort to obtain information about The Sweet Singer and her writings disclosed that there was very little known about her or her writings. So, I determined to search for both. My research led me all over Michigan, and extended over several years. I was primarily interested in determining how many different editions of her poems there are, but the search for that information revealed much interesting biographical history.

In 1847 Michigan was mostly a solid pine forest north of Grand Rapids, and pretty much as the Indians had known it. Life was rough and crude. The hardy pioneers who had settled there lived a primitive life of hardship. They were chiefly Americans from the older eastern states. Into this environment was born Julia A. Davis, December 1, 1847, in Plainfield township, Kent County, Michigan, about fifteen miles north of Grand Rapids. Due to her mother's ill health and the death of younger sisters, Julia had to assume responsibilities and had little opportunity to obtain any education. She, however, had much native ability to learn, and read a good deal. The family lived simply, like most pioneers, in a log cabin. Julia was serious-minded and a girl of high principles. Life was a serious business. She was eighteen when she married Fred Moore in 1865. For a short time they lived on a farm near her home, and then ran a store at Edgerton,

a village about three miles north of Rockford, until 1882, when they moved to a small settlement three miles north of Manton, Michigan, where Mr. Moore was a farmer, a lumberman, and a store-keeper. Ten children were born to the Moores, but only six reached maturity, two daughters and four sons. Mr. and Mrs. Moore spent the rest of their lives in this locality. Mr. Moore died October 9, 1914 and Mrs. Moore June 5, 1920. They both rest in the little cemetery not far from their home.

Julia early developed a penchant for writing verse. Her earliest poem, *William Upson*, was written when she was about seventeen, concerning the son of a neighbor, who had enlisted in the Civil War, and had died while away in the spring of 1864.

At that early date, as she puts it in her biographical poem, *The Author's Early Life*, she hoped

> ". . . some day to find
> Myself capable of composing.
> It was my heart's delight,
> To compose on a sentimental subject
> If it came in my mind just right."

Her verse, like much of that period, is morbid and mournful. The period in which she wrote most of her poetry has been referred to as the "dreadful decade," and she has been called its poet laureate. It was then that the mortuary poets who extolled the pleasures of dying and death were most profuse. There developed a regular school of this type of poetry. Julia's main source of material is the death records of her locale. She wrote her poems in great seriousness, but they were not accepted in the spirit in which they were written. The poems that were supposed to induce sadness, produced only laughter. The preface to the first edition of her poems reads as follows:

> Dear Friends: This little book is composed of truthful pieces. All those which speak of being killed, died or drowned, are truthful songs; others are "more truth than poetry." They are all composed by the author.

I was born in Plainfield, and lived there until I was ten years of age. Then my parents moved to Algoma, where they have lived until the present day, and I live near them, one mile west of Edgerton. JULIA A. MOORE.

She had an urge for self-expression that could not be restrained. The last thing in the world that Julia intended was to be humorous. The humor of her poems is absolutely unconscious. What makes her poetry frequently so funny, in addition to the subjects, is the way she forces the rhyme, and often the ridiculous wording.

Stephen Leacock, in his book *Humor and Humanity, An Introduction to the Study of Humor,* published in 1938, says that Julia Moore was probably the greatest super-comic poet who has lived since Milton. And in his book, *Humor: Its Theory and Technique,* 1935,† he says:

Comic verse means verse that is written with the intention and with the effect of making it funny. Super-comic verse is written without the same intention but with the same effect. In the one case we laugh with the writer; in the other we laugh at him.

Super-Comic Poetry is a distinctive product. It does not mean simply the indifferent work of indifferent poets. It is far more than that. No one could write it at will, and it is extremely difficult to imitate. It is the work of people who would undoubtedly have been poets if they had had education and academic background. There is thus something pathetic about the work of the super-comic poet: the intense "will" without the power; the "urge" toward art without the means; the inspiration without the ability.

This, as Leacock says, was the poetry of Julia A. Moore, the "Sweet Singer of Michigan." No attempt will be made in this paper to quote from her poems; they must be read in full to obtain the savor which they preserve.

Early in my research, I was directed to Mr. E. A. Stowe, editor of *The Michigan Tradesman,* Grand Rapids, Michigan, who, as a reporter for the Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* had interviewed Julia Moore in 1878, after the first publication of her poems. The interview, published in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* Saturday, January 12, 1878, contains many interesting sidelights on Mrs. Moore and her poetry.

† Dodd, Mead & Co., the publishers, have given permission to quote this passage.

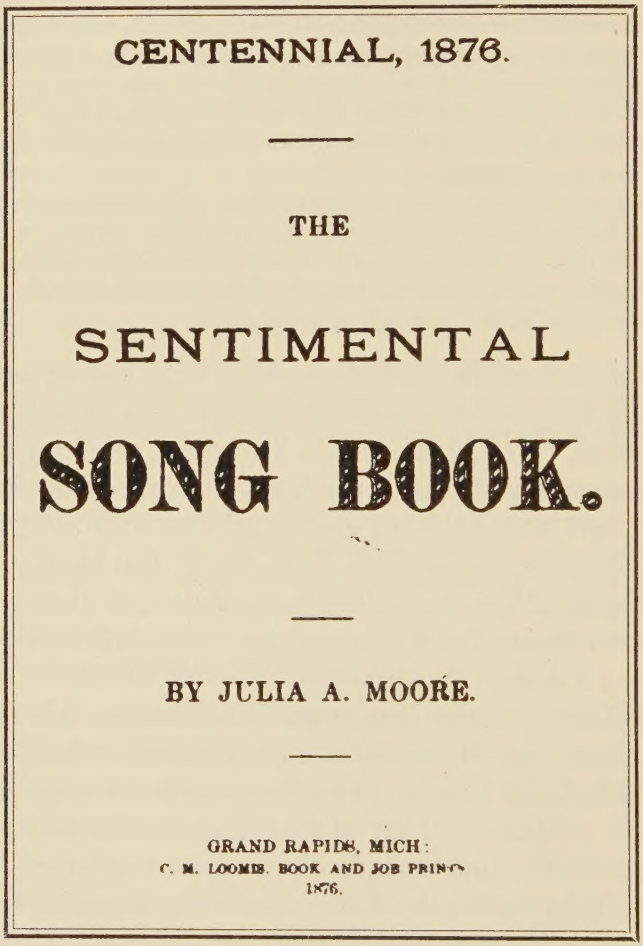
On Mr. Stowe's arrival at the Moore home, his second rap was greeted by a voice inside, "Wait till I change my dress, won't you?" Mr. Stowe says:

> She is a lady on the sunny side of 30 [she was then just past 30], with an abundance of black, uncombed hair, half braids, half curls, but evidently all her own. She has large, winsome eyes of some indescribable color, a clear, dark complexion, bordering on olive, and a mouth so full—of everything but teeth—so fresh and red, it might well belong to a babe of 6 months, instead of a woman fast approaching 30. She is slight in figure, decidedly inelegant in appearance, and about five feet in height.
>
> I found a woman with strong likes and dislikes, with a frank soul and a warm heart—a woman showing all too plainly the marks of her narrow younger years and the hard touches of the unromantic life of the farmer's wife. During the entire interview she remained standing behind a large home-made chair, with her hands, brown and stained with toil, on its broad back.

In response to Mr. Stowe's question, "Can you sit down and write any time, or does this wonderful gift come by inspiration?" she replied, "Well, that depends. Sometimes, when my children are cross and my old man—that's my husband—don't feel very well, I can't write anything good at all. But when everything is right I can compose like sixty. Now, there's that poem on 'Brigham Young's Wives,' eight long verses. I sat down about 9 o'clock one morning, and had it all composed, copied and ready for the mail by 4 o'clock in the afternoon." She told Mr. Stowe she considered *Libby Prison* her best poem, "it is so real and life-like."

Just how Julia Moore came to the attention of her first publisher, Mr. C. M. Loomis, I have been unable to ascertain. I have found no publication of any of her poems prior to their publication in a small pamphlet by Loomis, a printer in Grand Rapids, in 1876. It is probable that Loomis had a discriminating friend in Rockford or Cedar Springs, both of which are near where Julia lived and not far from Grand Rapids, who knew Julia Moore and her propensity to write poetry. At any rate, the first appearance of her work in print was thirty-six poems collected and published by Loomis in 1876 in a 54-page pamphlet, called *The Sentimental Song*

Book. It contained the wood-engraved portrait I have referred to as a frontispiece. It was evidently well received by the public because Loomis issued a second edition, containing some new poems,


CENTENNIAL, 1876.

THE

SENTIMENTAL

SONG BOOK.

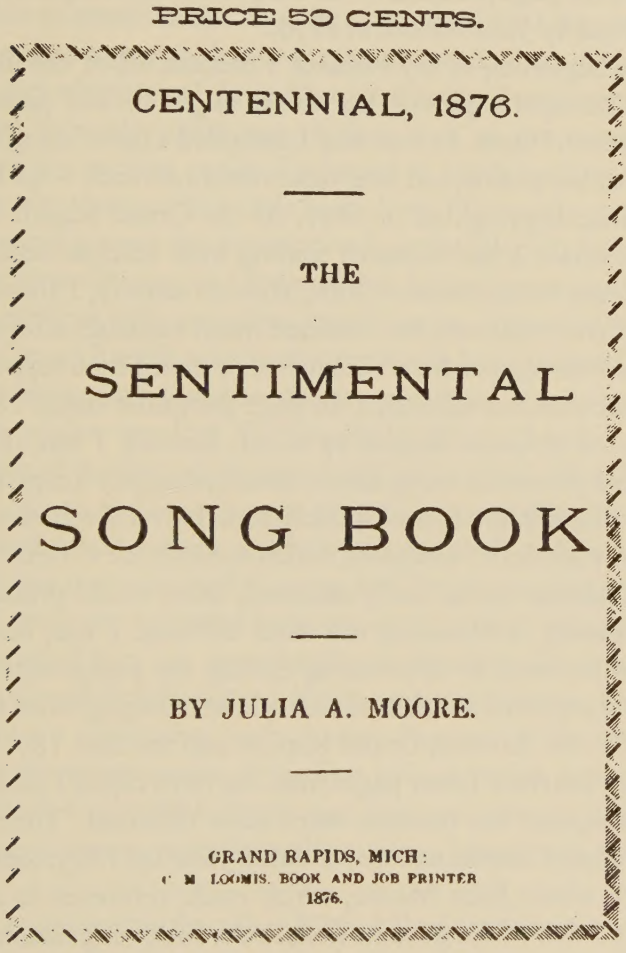
BY JULIA A. MOORE.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH:
C. M. LOOMIS. BOOK AND JOB PRINTER
1876.

Cover: Original Edition

in 1877, and J. F. Ryder, a photographer and art dealer in Cleveland, Ohio, also published in the same year two different pamphlets containing Julia Moore's poems. These Cleveland editions

had identical grey coated paper wrappers. On the front wrapper was the wood-cut portrait which had appeared in the first Grand


PRICE 50 CENTS.

CENTENNIAL, 1876.

THE

SENTIMENTAL

SONG BOOK

BY JULIA A. MOORE.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH:
C. M. LOOMIS, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER
1876.

Cover: Reprint
(Another form omits the words "Price 50 cents")

Rapids edition, and for the first time the title "The Sweet Singer of Michigan" appears. This suggests that the title was originated by Ryder.

One was a 62-page pamphlet with no portrait frontispiece. It was copyrighted by Julia Moore in 1876. The second Ryder edition was a 60-page pamphlet with the portrait frontispiece. It was copyrighted by Julia Moore in 1877.

At the beginning of my research I checked all of the libraries where I thought copies of her works might be and personally visited most of them. In that way I compiled a list of six different editions of her poems, and later discovered a seventh — the Cleveland edition copyrighted in 1877. At the Grand Rapids Public Library, where I had hopes of finding most editions because of its proximity to the locale of Julia Moore's activity, I found only three different editions, but obtained much valuable information from their newspaper files. I found there what I then supposed to be the genuine first edition, a 66-page pamphlet dated 1876. It was printed at Grand Rapids by C. M. Loomis. I was also surprised and pleased in being able to obtain promptly a copy for my library. As a matter of fact I quickly found several copies in three different varieties of wrappers, which induced me to think that if the first edition was so easily obtained, there would probably be little difficulty in obtaining the other editions. I was, however, soon disillusioned by discovering during my peregrination two mutilated copies of another edition whose title-page bore the imprint of C. M. Loomis, Grand Rapids, and the date 1876, but it contained fourteen fewer pages than the 1876 copies I had previously seen, and the contents were quite different. Then I ran across a Grand Rapids newspaper dated June 29, 1893, containing an article about Julia Moore, which made reference to a "facsimile" edition of the genuine first, in the following manner:

> The original sentimental song books have long since passed out of print, but recently, to fill a long felt want, a local publisher has issued a reprint facsimile of the original work and the reprint bearing all the stains of time is looked upon as being as good as the original first edition.

In the Library of Congress, I found a perfect copy of the 1876 edition of which I had obtained imperfect copies, and later found

another perfect copy in the General Library at the University of Michigan. These copies of the genuine first edition were sewn, while the reprint was stitched with wire staples. As far as I have been able to establish the fact, wire staples of that size were not used for binding pamphlets or magazines until after 1876. When I later met members of Julia Moore's family, I was surprised to find that the only copies any of them had of her poems were copies of the reprint, especially bound in black leather, and referred to by them as "the little black book." I was also informed that Loomis got out the reprint to sell at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and that he had presented each of Julia's children with one of the bound copies. I was told by E. A. Stowe, Grand Rapids, who had interviewed Julia for the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* in 1877, that one of the reasons for Loomis reprinting the first edition was that Eugene Field offered Loomis $50.00 for a copy of the first, which could not be furnished. That Loomis had no intention of fraud seems obvious from the facts, but it was very injudicious to issue a reprint in the early 1890's bearing date 1876. It has certainly fooled many, for almost every copy I have seen of what was supposed to be the genuine first was a copy of this reprint. There are many copies in existence. On one of my visits to Grand Rapids after I had begun my research, I was informed by a dealer that he had some time before bought a remainder of twenty copies of the first edition, which had all been disposed of. I have little doubt that they were the reprint. Auction copies in recent years have all, so far as I have seen, been this reprint.

Now to return to the other Grand Rapids editions that followed the genuine first: the second edition published by Loomis and previously referred to was a 60-page pamphlet containing as frontispiece the same engraved portrait of Julia Moore which appeared on the identical wrappers of both the Cleveland editions, and as frontispiece also in the second Cleveland edition. Stowe, when he interviewed Julia in 1878, remarked that he

didn't see any great similarity between the engraving on her book and herself. Julia replied, "Well, there ain't very much. That picture was taken when it was the fashion to wear the hair that way. When I got out my last edition, I went to the picture-taker's gallery, but it was so cloudy he could not take my picture then, and I have been unwell ever since." It had somewhat larger pages than the first Grand Rapids edition or either of the Cleveland editions, and bore on the front wrapper, "Second Revised Edition." It is very scarce — equally as scarce as the genuine first edition; the only copies I know of are those in the Library of Congress, the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, and The New-York Historical Society, New York, and my copy.

Loomis's third and final edition, aside from the reprint, was issued in 1878, and bore the title, *A Few Choice Words To the Public, With New and Original Poems. . . . Written by the Author. Her second Book.*

Then what appears to be the sixth and final edition of those published in 1876-1878, was a 90-page pamphlet copyrighted and published in 1878 by Eaton, Lyon & Co., Grand Rapids, the title of which is, *The Sweet Singer of Michigan. Later Poems of Julia A. Moore, together with Reviews, commendatory Notices, Etc., Etc., Of her Sentimental Song Book.*

It was copies of the second Ryder edition, with brown paper glued to the original wrapper, and the Eaton, Lyon & Co. edition that I obtained from the New York bookseller in 1934.

J. F. Ryder, her Cleveland publisher, was largely responsible for publicizing The Sweet Singer of Michigan throughout the East and Middle West by advertising and sending copies of pamphlets containing her poems to editors of metropolitan newspapers. The result of this distribution was widespread comment, both laudatory and caustic. Some of this comment was contained in the sixth and final pamphlet published by Eaton, Lyon & Co., Grand Rapids, in 1878.

Ryder tells of his publication of Mrs. Moore's poems in his book, *Voigtländer and I in Pursuit of Shadow Catching*, Cleveland, 1902. He says, "I arranged for the publication of the poems in a copyrighted book." The fact is he issued two copyrighted pamphlets in 1877. Maybe he had forgotten by 1902 there had been two. The poems he quotes are in both. He sent copies of his pamphlets to all leading newspapers and famous writers of the day, with the following letter. It was probably the second pamphlet published by him because the letter is dated October, 1877:

Cleveland, O., October, 1877

DEAR SIR:

Having been honored by the gifted lady of Michigan in being entrusted with the publication of her poems, I give myself the pleasure of handing you herewith a copy of the same, with my respectful compliments.

It will prove a health lift to the overtaxed brain; it *may* divert the despondent from suicide. It should enable the reader to forget the "stringency," and guide the thoughts into pleasanter channels. It opens a new lead in literature, and is sure to carry conviction. It *must* be productive of good to humanity. If you have the good of your fellow creatures at heart, and would contribute your mite towards putting them in the way of finding this little volume, the thanks of a grateful people (including authoress and publisher) would be yours. If a sufficient success should attend the sale of this work, it is our purpose to complete the Washington Monument.

Very truly yours,

J. F. RYDER,
239 Superior Street.

Ryder goes on to say, "Such papers as the *New York Tribune*, *Herald*, *Sun*; the *Boston Daily Globe*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and others seemed to vie with each other in getting spicy interviews with the new star in the literary firmament." These interviews were wholly fictitious.

Ryder mentions in his book "an old scrap-book made of clippings at the time." I have made every possible effort to trace Ryder's family in the hope of being able to locate his papers, but have had no success. It is possible—in fact probable, that Ryder's scrap-book was the source of the reviews, commendatory notices, etc., which appeared in the pamphlet published by Eaton, Lyon

& Co., Grand Rapids, in 1878. And it may contain all that were in Ryder's scrap-book. It would indeed be interesting to locate Ryder's papers, because he was undoubtedly The Sweet Singer's principal promoter. Some one may have better luck than I.

The Denver Tribune devoted four columns to Mrs. Moore. Mark Twain, Bill Nye and Eugene Field, noted humorists of that time, were intrigued by Julia's work. Bill Nye devoted a chapter to her in *Bill Nye and Boomerang*, published in 1881. This has been previously referred to in connection with her portrait. In the chapter, *The Muse, Criticism of the works of The Sweet Singer of Michigan*, Bill deals rather roughly with Julia. In addition to what has been quoted pertaining to the portrait of The Sweet Singer, he says in part:

> Through the courtesy of a popular young lady of Chicago, who recognizes struggling genius at all times, I have been permitted to carefully read and enjoy the lays of the sweet singer of Michigan; and I ask the reader to come with me a few moments into the great field of literature, while we flit from flower to flower on the wings of the Muse. . . .
>
> My idea would be to take these poems and remove the crown sheet, then put in new running gear, upset and bush the pitman, kalsomine the boiler plate, drill new holes in the eccentric, rim out the gas pipe, raise the posterior eccentric to a level with the gang plank, slide the ash pan forward of the monkey wrench, securing it by draw bars to the top-gallant mizzen. Then, throwing open the condenser and allowing the cerebellum to rest firmly against the vicarious whippety-whop, fair time may be made on a gentle grade.

Bill thinks Julia took advantage of her poetic license and suggests it should have been revoked.

Mark Twain had evidently been familiar with *The Sentimental Song Book* ever since its publication. Perhaps Ryder sent him a copy. In Chapter XXXVI of *Following the Equator*, 1897, Mark says:

> I have been reading the poems of Mrs. Julia A. Moore again, and I find in them the same grace and melody that attracted me when they were first published, twenty years ago, and have held me in happy bonds ever since. "The Sentimental Song Book" has long been out of print, and has been forgotten by the world in general, but not by me. I carry it with me always—it and Gold-

smith's deathless story. Indeed, it has the same deep charm for me that the Vicar of Wakefield has, and I find in it the same subtle touch — the touch that makes an intentionally humorous episode pathetic and an intentionally pathetic one funny. In her time Mrs. Moore was called "The Sweet Singer of Michigan," and was best known by that name. I have read her book through twice to-day, with the purpose of determining which of her pieces has most merit, and I am persuaded that for wide grasp and sustained power, "William Upson" may claim first place.

I have not been able to find anything by Eugene Field about The Sweet Singer, but I know he was interested because I have a letter he wrote in an effort to obtain a copy of the first edition of her book.

The criticism elicited by Ryder's distribution of *The Sentimental Song Book* was responsible for one of Julia's choicest stanzas:

> And now kind friends, what I have wrote,
> I hope you will pass o'er,
> And not criticise as some have done,
> Hitherto herebefore.

The publication of her poems also brought her to the attention of her own locality, and brought a demand not only for her printed poems, but for public appearances. A group of men arranged more in banter than compliment to finance her appearance for one night only at Powers' Opera House, Grand Rapids. This appearance was advertised in Grand Rapids papers as follows:

POWERS' OPERA HOUSE.

One night only,
Tuesday, Evening, May 1, 1877.

First appearance in Grand Rapids, of Kent County's talented poetess, Mrs. Julia A. Moore, who will give a reading of her select poems. Will also sing some of her choice productions; among the rest the soul-stirring ballad, "The Beautiful Twenty-Second." Seats secured at Geo. A. Hall's, in the Arcade, on and after Friday morning, April 27.

Price of admission to Parquette, Parquette Circle, and Dress Circle, 35 Cents. Gallery, 25 Cents. A fine orchestra engaged. Secure seats early to avoid a rush.

Even this advertisement savored of ridicule, but Julia accepted the engagement in all seriousness, as she did everything, including herself. The house had been "papered." Only 150 or 200 tickets were sold, but the house was well filled. She came onto the stage in a black silk dress, the mode of the day, accompanied by Hon. S. D. Clay, a Grand Rapids lawyer, who introduced her. She was greeted with a

prolonged tumult of applause. So spontaneous and hearty was this approbation that she was frequently interrupted (often at her most telling and pathetic passages) and compelled to pause until the enthusiasm had somewhat subsided. Indeed, so uncontrollable was the adulation of the multitude, that often it would burst forth with tremendous intensity, at passages so pathetic that angels should have wept.

To criticize the entertainment, in any particular, would be superfluous. The renditions of this talented authoress and elocutionist are wholly beyond the pale of legitimate criticism. As in religion there are matters too sacred to be subjected to the rude scrutiny of reason, so, in art, there are heights (and depths) where criticism stands abashed.[1]

Only one criticism was heard of Mrs. Moore's poems.

An old-time editor complained that, in one instance, a certain line did not contain the requisite number of feet. But this criticism is evidently unjust, as all will admit; for if, now and then, a line is too short, the deficiency is morally certain to be supplied in the next line, so that on a general average, there are words enough.[1]

Julia read an ode to the Centennial Arch, which had been erected in Grand Rapids, designed and built by Col. Joseph Penney. This poem was evidently not preserved. I have not seen it. Of her reading, one of the Grand Rapids papers commented the next morning as follows: "In the words of the late I. Watts,

'Ye gods and goddesses,
Without petticoats or bodices,'

what reading was there. What defiance of all rules of grammar, elocution, sense, rhetoric, eloquence, oratory, inflection, compass,

[1] Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, Wednesday, May 2, 1877.

quality, execution, variety, cadence, vivacity, emotion, intelligibility, articulation, emphasis, accent, antithetic stress, modulation, pitch, gesture, and others, did this untutored plebian indulge in."[2]

Practically all of Julia's poems were written to tunes of songs then current, and she closed the performance by singing "The Beautiful Twenty-Second," assisted by Messrs. Hyde, Spore and Irons, of Rockford. The orchestra, either with malice aforethought or accidentally, played off key and discords, thus "detracting from the singing of Mrs. Moore, who possesses a voice of marvellous sweetness and purity. . . .

"At the close of the entertainment several young men, as an evidence of their appreciation of Mrs. Moore's talents, beauty and personal worth, presented that lady with a fragrant bouquet of the species *brassica oleracea* [cabbage]."[3]

So passed the first public appearance of The Sweet Singer of Michigan. She followed this by public appearances at other small towns not far from her home, apparently not having comprehended that she had, in effect, been subjected to a practical joke and was the object of ridicule, for again she appeared in Grand Rapids on Monday evening, December 23, 1878, "with new poems and new wardrobe, and Anderson's full orchestra and brass band."

One advance notice of this auspicious event spoke of the "freshness, simplicity and rural beauty" of Julia's poems, which qualities "are apparent to the unlettered as well as the esthetic and cultured, and delight all English speaking people by their wonderful exquisiteness, but they will have an added charm and grace in falling from her lips."[4]

Another advance notice said, "Only once or twice in a century does one have such an opportunity for seeing and hearing a rare

[2] Grand Rapids *Daily Morning Democrat*, Wednesday, May 2, 1877.

[3] Grand Rapids *Times*, Wednesday, May 2, 1877.

[4] Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, Friday, December 20, 1878.

poetic genius, and the public of our city should not be slow to seize upon this chance."[5]

Upon Mrs. Moore's arrival in Grand Rapids with her baby in the afternoon of December 23, she was met at the station by her manager and a local celebrity known as Joseph, the Count de Levy. In an open barouche, the party drove through the principal streets to Sweet's Hotel. From the back of the carriage fluttered a banner bearing the names and titles of the Count and The Sweet Singer. At the hotel she occupied the apartment recently vacated by the great Polish actress, Modjeska, who had visited Grand Rapids.

Since her first appearance in Grand Rapids in May, 1877, Mrs. Moore had become much more famous through the publication of several editions of her poems and much advertising. But she had not gained much in wisdom, nor in the realization that she was being made fun of. Her eyes were, however, evidently opened before the end of this appearance. She appeared on the stage "in a black dress, with a black hat and red feather, white gloves, and roomy shoes." She was introduced by Mr. J. Mason Reynolds. Mrs. Moore took a seat upon a sofa when Mr. Reynolds began his remarks, and the seat being a little deeper than she expected, she had a narrow escape from a tip over backwards. According to the testimony of one who was present, that particular kind of seat had been pre-arranged for the embarrassment of Mrs. Moore.

Mr. Reynolds said he took pleasure in introducing Mrs. Moore, as she was a former neighbor of his, and they were fellow poets. He had even written original poetry himself, and to prove it, read a short poem of some twenty verses upon "The Talking of the Clock," which was received with applause, and the whistling of two bars of "Grandfather's Clock," by a wicked boy in the gallery. Mr. Reynolds then retired and Mrs. Moore stepped up to the table, and opening her volume of original poems, remarked that it was "partly full of mistakes" and "therefore not correct." She also said the book was written to "catch the public"

[5] Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, Monday, December 23, 1878.

and she thought she had succeeded.[6] "Literary is a work very hard to do," remarked Mrs. Moore, and the audience grinned assent.[7]

Julia's wrath was evidently kindled upon this occasion and her eyes opened to the truth that she was being ridiculed, for, according to those who were present, at the close of her reading she arose to her full, majestic height, and said, "you people paid fifty cents each to see a fool, but I got fifty dollars to look at a house full of fools."

In the Grand Rapids *Times* the next morning, a rather annoyed reviewer said:

> That a woman of ordinary figure, angular face, short waist, cotton gloves and a dress somewhat too high-necked at the top and too low-necked at the bottom, should come before us as the embodiment and personification of the greatest female genius since Patsey Bollivar's second cousin died, is strange, but it is true. With such a woman reading such poems, there comes to every listener who has music in his or her soul, — who has ten cents' worth of sentiment in his or her heart, the sensation of fighting for breath in a hothouse full of intellect, the ventilation of which is checked by brain tissue and solid chunks of the sweetest poesy. And at the feet of such a woman *The Times* lays its humble tribute.[8]

Julia's family was infuriated by the ridicule to which she was subjected, and her husband forbade her writing any more for publication, an injunction which she evidently obeyed. The last appearance of any of her poems in pamphlet form was in 1878, prior to her last public appearance in Grand Rapids. Her husband died in 1914, and the year following Julia's next publication appeared, this time in prose, *Sunshine and Shadow; or, Paul Burton's Surprise. A Romance of the American Revolution.*

But Julia was not infuriated or subdued in any sense of the word. In a letter to a friend written the next month after her last Grand Rapids appearance she said,

[6] The pamphlet she read from was No. 6 in my list. She read practically all the poems in it.

[7] Grand Rapids *Daily Morning Democrat,* Tuesday, December 24, 1878.

[8] Grand Rapids *Times,* Tuesday, December 24, 1878.

. . . a lady asked me to give a reading. I have stated my terms but do not expect to go for I think my price will be too high. It is for the benefit of a church. I offered to come for $25. which is not half as much as I got in Grand Rapids. I have decided to give readings if I can get enough to pay me as I shall have to hire some one to stay with my little ones, and have anything left after my trouble. I cannot go for nothing. Charity looks to home first. Do you blame me? After being censered [*sic*] by the press and also by the public, would you go for fun?

Sunshine and Shadow, which had been published serially in the *Cedar Springs Clipper* in 1880, was not Julia Moore's first experiment with prose. Just prior to the appearance of *Sunshine and Shadow,* there had been published, also in the *Cedar Springs Clipper,* a short story, *Lost and Found; or, The Father's Story.* But *Sunshine and Shadow* was the last of Julia's writings to appear in pamphlet or book form during her lifetime. After that, her writings appeared only in newspapers, or as the words to some published songs.

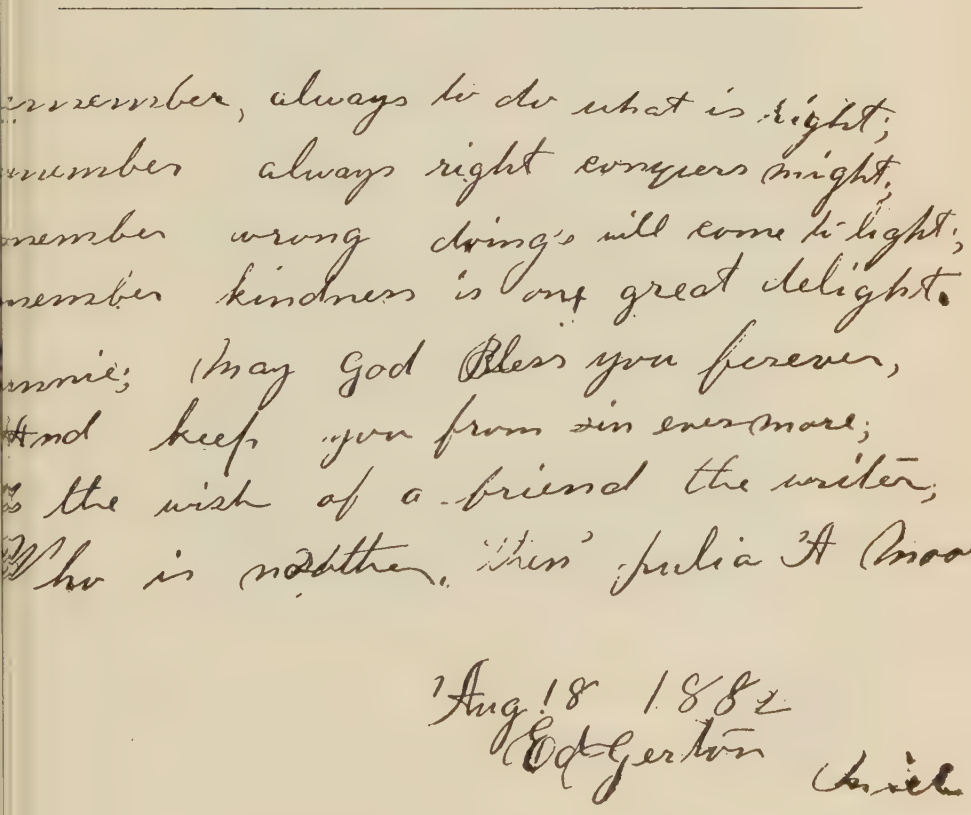
I have found a number of Mrs. Moore's poems written after the publication of her poems in 1876-1877, published in newspapers. *Our Baby,* printed in the *Cedar Springs Clipper,* Cedar Springs, Michigan, February 25, 1880 was protected by copyright, and by an editorial note, which read:

Having purchased of Mrs. Moore, several poems and two original stories and applied for copyright of the same, we hope the press will recognize them as the property of this paper and treat them as such. (Ed. Clipper.)

This energetic editor kept abreast of the times. The two stories were *Lost and Found; or, The Father's Story,* published in the *Clipper* in three weekly installments beginning March 3, 1880, and *Sunshine and Shadow; or, Paul Burton's Surprise,* in the *Clipper* in eight weekly installments beginning April 28, 1880. The story was reprinted in pamphlet form in 1915. The other poem was *Life's Fate,* published in the *Clipper,* March 24, 1880. This poem was printed in slightly revised form, and with the addition of a stanza in the Manton *Tribune,* Manton, Michigan, September 9, 1887.

In Rockford, Michigan, I found a man whose mother had known Julia Moore, and whose autograph album contained some verse written by The Sweet Singer. It is dated August 18, 1882, and has never been printed "hitherto herebefore."

Remember always to do what is right;
Remember always right conquers might;
Remember wrong doings will come to light;
Remember kindness is one great delight.
Fannie; May God bless you forever,
And keep you from sin evermore;
Is the wish of a friend, the writer,
Who is no other than Julia A. Moore.



Facsimile: Holograph MS. of Julia A. Moore

On September 2, 1887, in the *Manton Tribune* was printed an *Acrostic*, extolling the Manton Business Men's Association. Manton is the town nearest The Sweet Singer's home in Michigan from 1882 to the end of her life. In 1894 Julia's ambition led her into writing not only the words of a song, but the music as well. She called it *Decoration Song*, a G. A. R. Memorial Song, written for soldiers for Decoration Day, by J.A.M. Published by J. A. J. Friedrich, Grand Rapids, and copyrighted 1894. Again in 1907, she wrote the words for a song, but not the music, which was furnished by Madden Music Co., *The Bride's Soliloquy*.

A third song was planned and prepared, but never published. It was a joint product of The Sweet Singer and Mr. W. C. Yutzy, Cadillac, Michigan, written in Mrs. Moore's later life. One of her daughters helped her with the music, which was finished by Mr. Yutzy. It was named *Viberta: or, On the Banks of the Big Manistee*.

In 1910 when The Sweet Singer was sixty-three, Mary E. Remington, a staff correspondent of the *Grand Rapids Press*, visited Julia at her home near Manton, Michigan. Her interview was published in the *Press* and her sympathetic estimate is quoted in part as it contains the feminine point of view:

> Mrs. Moore, the erstwhile poet, is a woman of winning personality, with an inbred sense of that courtesy that is born in kindness. The slight girlish figure which those who knew her thirty years ago remember, has grown rotund and portly. Her strong, somewhat square features indicate great strength of character and her face is illumined by wonderful soft black eyes of constantly changing expression. She is greatly beloved by the entire community.
>
> Even now in her old age, when ambitions lie far back in the past, and the shortening days of the future are closing in about her, Julia A. Moore impresses one as a woman of strong, rugged personality, a woman of undoubted originality who, had she been given the early advantages of education and the contact with broader life, might have achieved a worthy and permanent work in some department of activity.
>
> Crude as they are in their lack of technique, her published verses have at least the ring of sincerity and there are critics who have dealt kindly with her.

Julia A. Moore: October 4, 1902

During the first World War, and only a year or two before her death, The Sweet Singer was still composing—"if it came in my mind just right," and she wrote a poem about our boys who were fighting in that war. It is unpublished. The original, written in pencil and signed "J.A.M." was given to me by one of her daughters. It is probably one of the last of The Sweet Singer's compositions.

Our brave boys have gone
Way o'er the sea
To fight in the war
For liberty,
Giving their lives
On freedom's side,
America's sons
Our Nation's pride.
Our starry flag is o'er them,
Floats o'er our boys
In God's free air
God bless our boys,
Yes, every one
That's gone to help
Till victory is won.
The flower of our land
Is taken away
As father, dear sons
Go day by day,
Leaving mother, wives
And sweethearts all
And gone to obey
Our country's call.

While Julia Moore had no technical ability as a poet and ignored both rhythm and rhyme, she possessed a spontaneous urge to express herself in verse, which, had she had the advantage of an education, might have inspired praise rather than ridicule. She could, at least, not be accused of ambiguity. Her poems were obviously written in all sincerity.

The poems which she considered good enough to republish in

later editions, she constantly revised, attempting to improve them, but the unfortunate result was usually the reverse.

So, for over forty years, Julia sang indefatigably. She was a woman of strong character; nothing could obtund her enthusiasm for composing. She has furnished much pleasure to many. We lay our tribute at her feet.

CHECK LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF JULIA A. MOORE: AND SELECTED REFERENCES TO HER

1. CENTENNIAL, 1876. | [rule] | The | Sentimental | Song Book. | [rule] | By Julia A. Moore. | [rule] | Grand Rapids, Mich: | C. M. Loomis, Book and Job Printer, | 1876. |

   54 pp., portrait facing title-page. 15cm. Grey paper wrapper. Front cover identical with title-page, framed with double rule.

   On reverse of title-page: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1876, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore, in the office of the Librarian of Congress."

   First poem is *Centennial*, p. (5); last poem *William House and Family*, pp. 52-54. No table of contents. This edition was sewn. The word "Libby" in the title of poem, *Libby Prison*, on p. 27 is spelled "Libbby." A final blank leaf completes the last signature.

   Copies: LC; NYHS; U. Mich.; Author; Pvt. Collection.

2. THE | SENTIMENTAL SONG BOOK, | By Julia A. Moore. | With numerous Additions and Corrections | By the Author. | [rule] | [Four lines of quoted verse] | [rule] | Grand Rapids, Mich: | C. M. Loomis, Publisher, | [rule] | 1877. |

   60 pp., portrait facing title-page. 16.7 cm. Grey paper wrapper, red border on front and back covers.

   On front cover: "Second Revised Edition."

   At top of front cover: "Price, 35 Cents." followed by two lines of verse, quoted from Addison.

   On reverse of title-page: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1877, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore, in the office of the Librarian of Congress."

   The first poem, *The Author's Early Life*, was here printed for the first time. It closed with the admonition to friends to be charitable toward her, quoted on p. 103. The last poem was, *Ashtabula Disaster*. Index at front, 2 pp. This is the tallest of all editions.

   Copies: LC; AAS; NYHS; Author.

3. Centennial, 1876. | [rule] | The Sentimental | Song Book. | [rule] | By Julia A. Moore. | [rule] | Cleveland, O | J. F. Ryder, Publisher. | 1877. |

62 pp., (no frontispiece). 15 cm. Grey coated paper wrapper, bearing portrait, which is frontispiece in (1) and (2), and legend, "The | Sweet Singer of Michigan | Salutes the Public. | " This is the first appearance of the title, "The Sweet Singer of Michigan." Back cover bears advertisement of Ryder's Trade Cabinet Photographs.

On reverse of title-page: "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1876, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore, in the office of the Librarian of Congress."

This edition followed closely typographically the first Loomis edition, Grand Rapids, 1876 (1), but does not contain all the poems it contained. It does contain all the poems which were in the second Loomis edition, Grand Rapids, 1877 (2), and also a few poems which did not appear in the second Ryder edition (4).

Copies: Bost. PL; Detr. PL, Burton Collection; Brown U., Harris Collection; NYHS; U. Mich., WLCL; Author; Pvt. Collection.

4. The | Sentimental Song Book, | By Julia A. Moore. | With numerous Additions and Corrections | By the Author. | [rule] | [Four lines of quoted verse] | [rule] | Cleveland, O.: | J. F. Ryder, Publisher. | [rule] | 1877. |

60 pp., portrait facing title-page. 16 cm. Grey coated paper wrapper identical with wrapper on (3).

On reverse of title-page: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1877, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore, in the office of the Librarian of Congress."

This edition is identical with the second Loomis edition, Grand Rapids, 1877 (2), except the cover and the title-page, and appears to have been printed from the same type. An obvious error appeared identically in both, a period following the word "subject" at the end of the seventh line of the seventh stanza of *The Author's Early Life,* the first poem in both.

Copies: NYHS; Author; Pvt. Collection.

5. A Few Choice Words | To the Public, | With new and | Original Poems, | By | Julia A. Moore | [rule] | Written by the Author. | [rule] | Her Second Book. | Grand Rapids, Mich. | C. M. Loomis, Printer, 23 Monroe St., | [rule] | 1878. |

55, [1] pp., (no frontispiece). 14.8 cm. Grey paper wrapper. Front cover reads same as title-page, but has at top, "Price 25 Cents." and at bottom, "Copyright 1878, by Julia A. Moore."

Contains a new preface and a seven-page *Address to the Public.*

Copies: LC; Detr.PL; Grand Rapids PL; Brown U., Harris Collection; U. Mich.; Miss Gertrude McCuen, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Mich. Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Mich.; NYHS; Author.

6. The Sweet Singer of Michigan. | [rule] | Later Poems | of | Julia A. Moore, | Together with | Reviews, commendatory Notices, | Etc., Etc., | Of her | Sentimental Song Book. | [Six lines of verse, by Byron] | [Trade mark of publisher—an owl] | Eaton, Lyon & Co., Publishers, Grand Rapids, Mich. |

   [4], 7-90 pp., portrait on reverse of title-page. 14.7cm. Grey paper wrapper.

   Front cover reads same as title-page, but has at top, "Price 25 Cents." and at bottom, "Copyright, 1878, by Eaton, Lyon & Co." Back cover bears advertisements of publisher and of Ryder's Trade Cabinet Photographs.

   Contains a new preface by Julia A. Moore, dated Edgerton, Mich., May 22d, 1878.

   Pages (6)-80 contain reviews, etc. The reviews were elicited mostly by Ryder's generous distribution of copies of the pamphlets issued by him, accompanied by the letter quoted on p. 101. Reviews are printed from the following newspapers: *Rome Sentinel* (Rome, N. Y.); Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat*; Chicago *Tribune*; Hartford (Conn.) *Daily Times*; Danbury (Conn.) *News*; *Connecticut Post*; *Connecticut Courant*; Oil City (Pa.) *Derrick*; Pittsburg *Telegraph*; New York *World*; Lancaster (Pa.) *Intelligencer*; Worcester (Mass.) *Daily Press*; Butler County (Ohio) *Democrat*; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*; Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Times*.

   Copies: LC; AAS; Bost. PL; Grand Rapids PL; NYHS; Author; Pvt. Collection.

7. Centennial, 1876. | [rule] | The | Sentimental | Song Book | [rule] | By Julia A. Moore. | [rule] | Grand Rapids, Mich: | C. M. Loomis, Book and Job Printer, | 1876. |

   [5], 6-66, [2] pp., portrait facing reverse of title-page. 15 x 10.8 cm. Grey paper wrapper. Front cover identical with title-page.

   On reverse of title-page: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1876, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore, in the office of the Librarian of Congress."

   This is a reprint of the first Grand Rapids edition, published by C. M. Loomis, and bears date 1876. It was probably published by Loomis in 1893, for sale at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago. It is doubtful that it was published with intent to defraud. It is not a facsimile, and contains many differences from the genuine first edition. It was stitched with wire staples, having crowns or tops one-half or five-eighths inch long. Wire stitching with staples of that size was not used on pamphlets in 1876. The first wire stitching machines were used in the United States just prior to 1876, but they made staples with crown only one-eighth inch long. Such machines were used to stitch catalogs for the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, in

1876. Wire stitching machines for pamphlets making staples one-half or five-eighths inch long were not used until later. *Scribner's Monthly* magazine for December, 1877, was sewn. The next year this magazine was wire stitched.

This edition contains seven of Mrs. Moore's better poems not contained in the genuine first edition, i.e., *Grand Rapids Cricket Club*, *Centennial Celebration*, *Ashtabula Disaster*, *The Author's Early Life*, *Red Ribbon*, *Beautiful Twenty-second*, and *Temperance Reform Clubs*. These poems all appeared in the second Grand Rapids edition, 1877.

The poem *Ashtabula Disaster* could not have appeared in an 1876 edition because the disaster did not occur until December 29, 1876. There was an account of it in the Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, Saturday, December 30, 1876.

There are numerous typographical differences between this and the genuine first edition, the principal of which is in the title of the poem, *Libby Prison*. In the genuine first edition, "Libby" is spelled "Libbby." Also, the type used for printing the words "Song Book" on the front covers of the two editions was entirely different, although the balance of the printing on the front cover and all on the title-page appears to be from the same type, the only difference on the title-page being that in the genuine first edition the words "Song Book" are followed by a period, while in this edition they are not.

This edition also has at the back a table of contents on two unnumbered pages. There was no table of contents in the genuine first edition.

On the front cover of this edition, the border is a decorative band one-sixteenth inch wide, while on the genuine first edition it consists of a double rule, one heavy and one light. The decorative band used on this edition is the same as used for the frame on the front cover of the third Grand Rapids edition, 1878 (5).

There were at least three different issues of this edition, identical except as to wrappers and stitching:

(a) Stitched with wire staples having five-eighths inch crowns.

(b) Stitched with wire staples having half-inch crowns, and at top of front cover, "Price 50 Cents." Size 14.8 x 11 cm.

NYHS copy has staples measuring five-eights inch across the crown and measures 15.1 x 11 cm.

(c) Stitched with wire staples having five-eighths inch crowns. Wrapper is of paper a much bluer grey than (a) or (b). Imprint is omitted from front cover, and the word "The" preceding "Sentimental" is also omitted. Size 15 x 11.5 cm.

Copies: Numerous copies.

8. Original Poems | By | Julia A. Moore | "The Sweet Singer of Michigan" | [rule] | [Detached Supplement] | A Portrait of Mrs. Moore | Published by Alfred | Bartlett 21 Cornhill | Boston [4 type ornaments] | (The Cornhill Booklet, Volume 5, Number 1, November, 1900, pp. 133-156, portrait laid in). 17.5 cm. Title within border, in red and black.

   At head of title: November MCM | The [cuts of 3 open books] | Cornhill | Booklet | 1 dollar by the year | 10 cents the copy [5 type ornaments] | Contents |

   Copies: Numerous copies.

9. The Sentimental | Song Book | By | Julia A. Moore | "The Sweet Singer of Michigan" | New York | The Platt & Peck Co. | [c1912]
   [7], iv-xiii, 95 pp. 15.6 cm.

   Introduction by T. (Thos. Tapper)

   Copies: Numerous copies.

10. Sunshine and Shadow | [rule] | Or Paul Burton's Surprise | [double rule] | [double rule] | A Romance of the | American Revolution | [double rule] | By Julia A. Moore | [Cadillac, Mich.: Cadillac News Co. (?) 1915]
    [3], 6-58 pp. 17.5 cm.

    First published serially in *Cedar Springs Clipper* (Cedar Springs, Mich.) in April, May and June, 1880.

    Copies: LC; Grand Rapids PL; U. Mich.; Author.

11. The Sweet Singer | of Michigan | Poems by | Mrs. Julia A. Moore | Edited | and with an Introduction | by | Walter Blair | Chicago | Pascal Covici, Publisher, Inc. | 1928 |

    [vi], vii-xxvii, 158 pp., portrait facing title-page. 19.6 cm.

    Copies: Numerous copies.

References to Julia Moore

12. Bill Nye and Boomerang; | Or, | The Tale of a Meek-eyed Mule, | And some other Literary Gems. | [rule] | By Bill Nye Himself. [Edgar Wilson Nye] | [rule] | [Four lines of verse by "The Sweet Singer of Michigan"] | [rule] | Chicago: | Belford, Clarke, & Co., | 1881. |
    [5], iv, v, 7-286 pp. 18.7 cm.

    Chapter, *The Muse*, p. 94, criticism of the works of "The Sweet Singer of Michigan."

13. Following | The Equator | A Journey around the World | By | Mark Twain | Samuel L. Clemens | [double rule] | [picture of palm tree] | [double rule] | Hartford New York | American Publishing Co. Doubleday & McClure Co. | MDCCCXCVII |

[6], 7-712 pp., portrait facing title-page. 23.4 cm.

References to "The Sweet Singer of Michigan" are on pp. 107, 108, 324 and 325.

14. The Eugene Field | I Knew [ornaments] | By Francis Wilson | [ornament] | New York | Charles Scribner's Sons | Mdcccxcviii |

[10], 128, [12] pp., portrait facing title-page. 19.1 cm.

References to "The Sweet Singer of Michigan" are on pp. 5 and 6.

15. Voigtländer and I | In Pursuit of Shadow Catching | [rule] | A Story of Fifty-two Year's companionship | with a Camera | [rule] | By James F. Ryder | [decorative monogram] | Cleveland, O.: | The Cleveland Printing & Publishing Co. | The Imperial Press | 1902 |

[11], 14-251 pp., portrait facing title-page. 24 cm.

Chapter, *The Sweet Singer of Michigan*, p. 155; also a poem by Mrs. Moore about the death of Brigham Young at p. 72, which is not published elsewhere.

16. The Hundred Worst Books. By Samuel McChord Crothers.

In: *Atlantic Monthly*, CIII:577, May, 1909. Contains a paragraph about "The Sweet Singer of Michigan," p. 579.

17. Humor | Its Theory and Technique | With | Examples and Samples | A Book of Discovery | by | Stephen Leacock | [device] | Canadian Edition | For Sale in Canada Only | Dodd, Mead & Company | (Canada) Limited Toronto | [c1935] |

[4], v, 268 pp. 20.3 cm.

Julia Moore is referred to throughout Chapter V, *Comic and Super-Comic Verse*, p. 127.

18. The Stuffed Owl | An Anthology of bad Verse | Selected and Arranged | By D. B. Wyndham Lewis | And Charles Lee | [star] | With eight Cartoons | From the Works of | Max Beerbohm | [star] | [three-line quotation from Wordsworth] | New York | Coward McCann Inc. | [1930] |

[4], vii-xxxii, 236 pp., frontispiece. 19.3 cm.

Chapter on Julia Moore, p. 217.

19. HUMOR AND | HUMANITY | An Introduction to the Study | of Humor | By | Stephen Leacock | New York | Henry Holt and Company | [c1938] |

    [8], 3-232 pp. 22.2 cm.

    Reference to Julia Moore on p. 183.

20. A | SHERLOCK HOLMES | BIRTHDAY | And other Bookish Stories | Conceived in the Form of News | By Charles Honce | [decoration] | New York | Privately Printed | 1938 |

    [8], 9-221 pp., frontispiece. 25.8 cm.

    Chapter, *The Sweet Singer of Michigan*, p. 75.

21. THE SWEET SINGER. By Robert J. Wayne.

    In: *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, published by University of Michigan, Number XLV:174, (February 18, 1939).

22. AUTHORS AND WOLVERINES. By Arnold Mulder.

    In: The *Saturday Review of Literature*, XIX:3, (March 4, 1939).

    Paragraph about Julia Moore, p. 4, third column.

The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*

By Nelson F. Adkins

EARLY in January of 1839, Nathaniel Hawthorne had decided to accept the humble position of measurer in the Boston Custom House. The work, he was told, would not be arduous; perhaps he might hope, he wrote to Longfellow, to employ at least part of his leisure time "in sketches of my new experiences, under some such titles as follow: 'Passages in the Life of a Custom-house Officer,' 'Scenes in Dock,' 'Nibblings of a Wharf-Rat,' 'Trials of a Tide-waiter,' 'Romance of the Revenue Service;' together with an ethical work, in two volumes, on the subject of Duties, . . ."[1] These are but a few of the books which resided on "a certain ideal shelf," to which Hawthorne once referred toward the close of his life. Here, he said, "are reposited many . . . shadowy volumes of mine, more in number, and very much superior in quality, to those which I have succeeded in rendering actual."[2] To this ideal shelf, his mind must have turned more than once during his life as he sat dejected amid the ruins of his literary hopes. ". . . every author," he asserts, "has imagined and shaped out in his thought more and better works than those

* Houghton Mifflin and Company have kindly permitted me in this paper to quote from the following works published by them and still in copyright: *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Old Manse Edition); Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*; George Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*; Bliss Perry, *The Amateur Spirit*; and John T. Trowbridge, *My Own Story*.

[1] Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1891), I: 323.

[2] *To a Friend* in *Our Old Home* (1863); see *Our Old Home and English Note-Books*, I: 16. The pagination for all references to Hawthorne's writings in this paper, except where otherwise noted, is that of *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Riverside Edition, Boston, 1883.

which actually proceeded from his pen."[3] It may also have been this impulse that made him turn humorously to the ideal in the prefatory note to *Rappaccini's Daughter*. The tale had been written by M. de l'Aubépine; and in giving a bibliography of Aubépine's works, Hawthorne expanded a number of his own short stories to the dimensions of several volumes.[4] Hawthorne at such moments, I fear, could not be trusted as his own bibliographer.

But Hawthorne probably dreamed no more than any great author, of the books he might have written. If he dreamed of many works, he certainly planned, although he did not wholly execute, many others. A survey of the years prior to the publication of *The Scarlet Letter* reveals that a considerable number of ideas for extended projects had passed through his mind. Many of these ideas, such as a romance on the subject Longfellow was to call *Evangeline*, he rejected before putting pen to paper.[5] More to

[3] *A Select Party* in *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109.

[5] There is little doubt of Hawthorne's interest in the history of the expulsion of the French from Acadia. The particular episode which concerned the separation of two lovers was first related in 1838 to Hawthorne by the Reverend H. L. Conolly. See *Passages From the American Note-Books*, p. 208. Three years later, Hawthorne included in his juvenile *Famous Old People* (1841) a general account of the banishment of the Acadians, mentioning only casually the fact that, in the expulsion, some lovers were separated. See *A Wonder-Book, Tanglewood Tales, and Grandfather's Chair*, p. 548. Hawthorne may have been holding back at this time the episode related by Conolly, uncertain whether he would sometime develop the idea in a tale. Later, however, he turned the episode over to Longfellow. See James T. Fields, *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1872), pp. 64-65; and James T. Hatfield, *New Light on Longfellow* (Boston, 1933), p. 115. In 1848, after the publication of *Evangeline*, Hawthorne considered for a time the writing of a history of the Acadians. See S. Longfellow, *op. cit.*, II: 110-111.

In 1838 Hawthorne and Longfellow gave some thought to writing together a "book of Fairy Tales" to be called *The Boy's Wonder-Horn*. See S. Longfellow, *op. cit.*, I: 291-292, 293, 309-310. This title, probably given to the proposed collection by Longfellow, who was well acquainted with *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, may have suggested to Hawthorne, years later, the title of *The Wonder Book*.

George P. Lathrop in *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), p. 190, states that Hawthorne at one time meant to write *The Dialogues of the Unborn*, but to this project I find no other reference.

Herman Melville once sent to Hawthorne documentary material for a tale, along with some suggestions for its development, but Hawthorne later returned the material at Melville's request. See *Melville's "Agatha" Letter to Hawthorne* in: the *New England Quarterly*, II: 296-307 (April, 1929).

our purpose are those works to which he not only gave serious attention, but on which he expended at least some literary labor. It is these projects that I propose to survey in this paper.

I

Hawthorne's first fully planned literary project involving the publication of a number of stories was called *Seven Tales of My Native Land*. The history of the project is vague and tenuous. The earliest critic to mention this group of tales is James T. Fields, who speaks of the source of his information as "an early friend of Hawthorne's," now known to have been Elizabeth Hawthorne.[6] Both George P. Lathrop and Julian Hawthorne also give as the authority for their statements Hawthorne's sister Elizabeth. Finally, Horatio Bridge adds a few facts, apparently derived from some early correspondence with Hawthorne, now lost.

There is some uncertainty when the project was conceived and the tales were written. Three biographers[7] state that the stories were composed after he had graduated from college in 1825. Elizabeth Hawthorne, however, in a statement quoted by Julian Hawthorne, asserts that her brother showed her in "the summer of 1825" the tales making up the volume.[8] If this date be correct, the stories must have been virtually completed before he left college, but Miss Hawthorne's recollection of the date on this occasion may well have been incorrect.[9] In any case, this group of tales, which had as their motto the title of Wordsworth's poem

[6] Miss Hawthorne furnished Fields with much of the biographical material concerning her brother which appears in *Yesterdays With Authors*. See Randall Stewart, *Recollections of Hawthorne by His Sister Elizabeth* in: *American Literature*, XVI: 316-331 (January, 1945).

[7] Fields, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1893), p. 67. See also Lathrop in his *Introductory Note* to *Twice-Told Tales* (Riverside Edition), p. 7.

[8] Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I: 123-124. See also George Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902), pp. 30-31.

[9] Cf. Randall Stewart, *American Literature*, XVI: 323, where Elizabeth distinctly says that they were composed soon after he left college.

We Are Seven, dealt with witchcraft and the sea,[10] natural subjects for Hawthorne to turn to in view of his ancestry. Elizabeth Hawthorne mentions by name one tale of witchcraft, *Alice Doane*.[11] The stories of the sea were "of pirates and privateers." One tale contained some verses, only one line of which has been preserved:

The pirates of the sea, they were a fearful race.[12]

Elizabeth Hawthorne also notes a second title, *Susan Grey*,[13] but whether the story concerned witchcraft or the sea we cannot be certain.

Lathrop gives a circumstantial account of the ultimate disposal of the tales:

He indeed had the most discouraging sort of search for a publisher; but at last a young printer of Salem promised to undertake the work. His name was Ferdinand Andrews,[14] and he was at one time half-owner with Caleb Cushing of an establishment from which they issued "The Salem Gazette," in 1822, the same journal in which Hawthorne published various papers at a later date, when Mr. Caleb Foote was its editor. Andrews was ambitious, and evidently appreciative of his young townsman's genius; but he delayed issuing the "Seven Tales" so long that the author, exasperated, recalled the manuscript. Andrews, waiting only for better business prospects, was loath to let them go; but Hawthorne insisted, and at last the publisher sent word, "Mr. Hawthorne's manuscript awaits his orders." The writer received it and burned it, to the chagrin of Andrews, who had hoped to bring out many works by the same hand.[15]

Horatio Bridge, Hawthorne's college friend, also alludes to the author's fit of temper which led to the destruction of the tales. When Hawthorne demanded back his manuscript, says Bridge,

The publisher, aroused to a sense of his duty and ashamed of his broken promises,

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[10] Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne*, p. 134. See also Randall Stewart, *American Literature*, XVI:323.

[11] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[12] Lathrop *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[13] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[14] For references to Andrews as a Salem publisher and printer, as well as for the titles of some of his early imprints, see Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (Salem, 1927), *passim*.

[15] Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 135. Other biographers have related the episode somewhat differently. See Fields, *op. cit.*, p. 65; J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I:124; Moncure Conway, *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, 1890), p. 42.

apologized and offered to proceed with the work at once; but Hawthorne was inexorable; and though, as he wrote me at the time, he was conscious of having been too harsh in his censures, he would not recede, and he burned the manuscript, in a mood half savage, half despairing.[16]

It seems right to assume, as Lathrop and others have done, that Hawthorne's tale *The Devil in Manuscript* is a fictional version of the young author's failure to find a publisher for his *Seven Tales*, but the sketch reflects as well Hawthorne's later humiliating experiences of a similar kind. This tale was published in the *New England Magazine* for November, 1835, under the pseudonym of "Ashley A. Royce," and it was not acknowledged until 1852, when it was collected in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales*. In this partly humorous, partly hysterical story, a young writer, named Oberon,[17] tells of his attempt "to embody the character of a fiend, as represented in our traditions and the written records of witchcraft."[18] Seventeen publishers had rejected these stories of witchcraft, and the poor author at last found himself in a mood of utter despondency and desperation. One publisher to whom Oberon submitted the tales told him frankly that "no American publisher will meddle with an American work,—seldom if by a known writer, and never if by a new one,—unless at the writer's risk."[19] Gradually preparing himself for the act by frequent draughts of champagne, Oberon finally consigned the stories to the flames. But he failed to reckon with the fiend which he had called forth in his tales. Giving the author one glaring look, the devil bolted up the chimney, and in a few moments had wrapped the whole town in flames. Oberon's despair suddenly turned to wild exultation:

"My tales!" cried Oberon. "The chimney! The roof! The Fiend has gone forth by night, and startled thousands in fear and wonder from their beds! Here

[16] Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[17] "Oberon" was a signature once used by Hawthorne in corresponding with Horatio Bridge. See Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[18] *The House of the Seven Gables and The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales*, p. 575.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 577.

I stand—a triumphant author! Huzza! Huzza! My brain has set the town on fire! . . ."[20]

The Americanism of Hawthorne's approach to fiction is apparent from the first. Yet in this approach, we must remember, Hawthorne was but following a literary trend already well marked in the 1830's. It is true that opinion differed as to the suitability of using American material as the subject matter for fiction. Perhaps, thought some, America was not rich enough in romantic and historical associations to serve as the basis of a national literature. Yet Cooper and others, who felt the influence of Scott in the 1820's, had already opposed such a view, and at least some of their writings had helped to strengthen the belief that America possessed a past of sufficient historical and romantic dignity to make a native literature possible. "We have long been of opinion," writes W. H. Gardiner in 1822, "that our native country opens to the adventurous novel-writer a wide, untrodden field, replete with new matter admirably adapted to the purposes of fiction;"[21] and he proceeds to note "three great epochs in American history, which are peculiarly well fitted for historical romance."[22] Gift books and annuals of the late twenties and thirties contained much material which sought to prove the validity of Gardiner's assertion. By the beginning of the thirties occasional books containing tales of American life and traditions began to appear. The year 1831 saw the publication of two such volumes: John Greenleaf Whittier's *Legends of New England*, and Delia Bacon's *Tales of the Puritans*.

Small wonder, then, that Hawthorne should have felt this native impulse. *Fanshawe*, his first novel published in 1828, owed its origin in part to this influence. But in his first projected volume of tales, to which we now return, his interest in native materials was

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 583.

[21] *North American Review*, XV:250 (July, 1822).

[22] *Ibid.*, XV: 255. For further discussions of this complex subject, see N. F. Adkins, *Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New Haven, 1930); and especially the excellent chapter entitled *Criticism of Fiction* in William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (Philadelphia, 1936).

more clearly marked.[23] *Alice Doane's Appeal*, the only extant story we may be quite certain belonged to the *Seven Tales*, uses the matter of New England witchcraft. American authors, by the mid-twenties, had already started to experiment with the fictional possibilities of this subject, and in the course of the next twenty years, it became a theme of considerable popularity.[24]

The story of Alice Doane was one of Hawthorne's earliest excursions into this field he later found so fascinating.[25] But *Alice Doane's Appeal*, which appeared in *The Token* for 1835, could not have been, in form, the same story that had been part of the *Seven Tales*. In *Alice Doane's Appeal*, Hawthorne tells of having once conducted two young ladies to the top of Gallows Hill; and while on this historic spot, he reads to them a story of witchcraft which he had written some years before. In mentioning the many tales of which he had been the author, he remarks, "One great heap had met a brighter destiny; they had fed the flames; . . . The story now to be introduced, and another, chanced to be in kinder custody at the time, and thus, by no conspicuous merits of their own, escaped destruction."[26] Whether we are to take literally what Hawthorne here states, it would be impossible to say. In any case, only fragments of the tale of Alice Doane, with running comment, are presented, as if Hawthorne might have been retelling the story from memory. A number of critics[27] have believed that the other tale which, as Hawthorne avers, "chanced to be in

[23] It is curious that Hawthorne's liking for native materials did not include the American Indian. In *Sketches from Memory* he says, "I do abhor an Indian story" (*Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 483).

[24] See G. Harrison Orians, *New England Witchcraft in Fiction* in: *American Literature*, II:54-71 (March, 1930).

[25] Evert A. Duyckinck once proposed to Hawthorne that he write a history of witchcraft. See a letter of Duyckinck, dated October 2, 1845, in Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 106. For Hawthorne's rejection of this proposal, dated October 10, see Randall Stewart, *Two Uncollected Reviews* in: *New England Quarterly*, IX:504-505 (September, 1936).

[26] *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*, p. 282.

[27] See Elizabeth Chandler, *A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne Before 1853* (Northhampton, 1926), p. 8; Julian Hawthorne, *Hawthorne Reading* (Cleveland, 1902), p. 103; and G. H. Orians, *American Literature*, II:65.

kinder custody," was *The Hollow of the Three Hills*. This was one of his first published stories,[28] again involving witchcraft. *An Old Woman's Tale*,[29] another early story concerned with the supernatural, has also been thought to belong to this group.[30]

The stories which Lathrop asserts concerned the sea are virtually beyond conjecture. It is curious, however, that *The Mermaid*,[31] which was collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1842) as *The Village Uncle*, has for its setting a fishing town not far from Nahant. The story contains some vivid descriptive touches of life by the sea, and introduces a girl named Susan, once a frank and mirthful child of nature, but now grown old. Could this have been the *Susan Grey* mentioned by Elizabeth Hawthorne? Lathrop asserts that the Susan of *The Mermaid* "is said to have had a prototype in the daughter of a Salem fisherman."[32] In any case, although one would be likely to call *Alice Doane's Appeal* and the other supernatural stories which we have associated with the *Seven Tales* essentially gothic, the Wordsworthian portrait of *The Mermaid* seems to suggest that other influence implied in the motto, "We Are Seven."

We shall never know how much of the substance of these early sketches was carried over into Hawthorne's later tales. L. Dhaleine remarks, "Cependant, il semble assez probable qu'il les refit sous une autre form, ou, du moins, les utilisa en partie dans les *Legends of the Province House*, et dans le *Fauteuil de Grand-Père*."[33] But there is no evidence to support such an hypothesis.

[28] *Salem Gazette*, November 12, 1830. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1837).

[29] Appeared in the *Salem Gazette* for December 21, 1830, and was collected posthumously in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876).

[30] Chandler, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[31] First published in *The Token* for 1835.

[32] Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Elizabeth Hawthorne, however, identifies the mermaid "Susan" with a girl Hawthorne met on a trip to Swampscott "about the year 1833" (J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I:127-128.) See also Randall Stewart, *American Literature*, XVI:326. If the date 1833 be correct, the Susan of the story could not possibly have been the "Susan Grey" of the *Seven Tales* since the project had long been abandoned by that date.

[33] L. Dhaleine, *N. Hawthorne, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1905), p. 25.

II

If Hawthorne ultimately abandoned the *Seven Tales of My Native Land* as a literary unit, he quickly entered upon other plans for a collection of his short stories along lines not essentially different from those of the earlier group. "He now gathered from his materials," writes Woodberry, "a new series which he knew as 'Provincial Tales,' in which it remains doubtful how much of the old survived, for the burnt manuscripts of youth have something of the phoenix in their ashes."[34]

Early in December, 1829, Hawthorne disclosed his new literary plans to Samuel Goodrich, the Boston editor and publisher, who had just started his long career. Now Goodrich expressed a willingness to examine Hawthorne's manuscripts, and to aid the young author in whatever way he could, but Goodrich gave him little encouragement regarding publication. Still hoping, however, that Goodrich might find the tales worthy of a publisher, Hawthorne addressed him in this letter:

Salem, Dec. 20th, 1829

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for your willingness to aid me in my affairs, though I perceive that you do not anticipate much success. Very probably you may be in the right, but I have nevertheless concluded to trouble you with some of the tales. These which I send have been completed (except prefixing the titles) a considerable time. There are two or three others, not at present in a condition to be sent. If I ever finish them, I suppose they will be about on a par with the rest.

You will see that one of the stories is founded upon the Superstitions of this part of the country. I do not know that such an attempt has hitherto been made, but, as I have thrown away much time in listening to such traditions, I could not help trying to put them into some shape. The tale is certainly rather wild and grotesque, but the outlines of many not less so might be picked up hereabouts.

Before returning the tales (for such, I suppose, is the most probable result) will you have the goodness to write to me, and await my answer? I have some idea that I shall be out of town, and it would be inconvenient to have them arrive during my absence.

I am &c.
NATH. HAWTHORNE.

P.S. None of the pieces are shorter than the one first sent you. If I write any of

[34] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

the length you mention, I will send them to you; but I think I shall close my literary labours with what I have already begun.

Mr. Samuel G. Goodrich
Boston
Mass.[35]

On examining Hawthorne's tales, Goodrich experienced far more pleasure than he had anticipated. "I brought the MSS. which you sent me to this place, where I am spending a few weeks," wrote Goodrich from Hartford on January 19, 1830. "I have read them with great interest. 'The Gentle Boy' and 'My Uncle Molineaux' [*sic*] I liked particularly; about 'Alice Doane' I should be more doubtful as to the public approbation. On my return to Boston in April, I will use my influence to induce a publisher to take hold of the work, who will give it a fair share of success.... As a practical evidence of my opinion of the uncommon merit of these tales, I offer you $35 for the privilege of inserting 'The Gentle Boy' in the 'Token,' and you shall be at liberty to publish it with your collection provided it does not appear before the publication of the 'Token.'"[36] Hawthorne, however, did not accept immediately Goodrich's offer, probably because he hoped, before the close of the year, to find a publisher for his collection. In this hope he was disappointed, and the following year he yielded to Goodrich's entreaties. "I have made liberal use of the privilege you gave me as to the insertion of your pieces in the 'Token'," Goodrich wrote to Hawthorne on May 31, 1831. "I have already inserted four of them; namely 'The Wives of the Dead,' 'Roger Malvin's Burial,' 'Major Molineaux' [*sic*], and 'The Gentle Boy.'"[37] These four tales were published in *The Token* for 1832. Meanwhile, with thoughts of publishing the *Provincial Tales* still fresh in his mind, Hawthorne, apparently at Goodrich's request, had sent the editor two stories, *Sights from a*

[35] Here published for the first time through the courtesy of Mr. Carroll A. Wilson, owner of the manuscript; and through the kindness of Professors Stanley T. Williams and Randall Stewart, who have in preparation a complete edition of Hawthorne's letters. Professor William Charvat first called my attention to this letter.

[36] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I:131-132.

[37] *Ibid.*, I:132.

Steeple and presumedly *The Haunted Quack*.[38] Both appeared in *The Token* for 1831.[39] This move was wholly in accord with Hawthorne's plans for the publication of a larger work, since neither tale sent to Goodrich concerned itself with Colonial history. Hawthorne's letter to Goodrich, which contains the only direct reference we have to *Provincial Tales*, is here presented:

Salem, May 6th, 1830

DEAR SIR:—

I send you the two pieces for the token [*sic*]. They were ready some days ago, but I kept them in expectation of hearing from you. I have complied with your wishes in regard to brevity. You can insert them (if you think them worthy a place in your publication) as by the author of 'Provincial Tales'—such being the title I propose to give my volume. I can conceive no objection to your designating them in this manner, even if my tales should not be published as soon as the Token, or, indeed, if they never see the light at all. An unpublished book is not more obscure than many that creep into the world, and your readers will suppose that the 'Provincial Tales' are among the latter.

I am, etc.,

S. G. Goodrich, Esq.[40] NATH. HAWTHORNE

In abandoning his plans for the publication of *Provincial Tales*, Hawthorne allowed Goodrich to publish at least some of the in-

[38] This tale was signed "Joseph Nicholson." Although never acknowledged by Hawthorne, this story, it seems to me, bears unmistakable internal evidence of his authorship. This evidence was first presented by Frank Sanborn in an article entitled *A New "Twice-Told Tale" by Nathaniel Hawthorne* in the *New England Magazine*, (n.s.) XVIII:688-696 (August 1898). This tale was included in the Old Manse Edition of Hawthorne's works published in 1904.

[39] Moncure Conway, whose accuracy in scholarly matters is not always to be trusted, asserts, "I have seen a letter from the editor of 'The Token,' Goodrich, to Hawthorne, mentioning four as the number of pieces in this volume of 1831 . . ." (*New York Times Saturday Review*, June 8, 1901). On the basis of internal evidence, for the most part flimsy, Conway ascribes to Hawthorne three tales in the 1831 volume: *The Fated Marriage* (unsigned), *The Aventurer* (signed "J.D.H."), and *The Haunted Quack*. The fourth tale would, of course, be *Sights from a Steeple*. It is unlikely that either *The Fated Marriage* or *The Adventurer* was written by Hawthorne. The editor of *The Token* in a note appended to *The Adventurer* suggests that the tale was the work of John Neal; and Ralph Thompson in his *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books* (New York, 1936, p. 68) finds "no reason for disregarding the hint concerning Neal's authorship printed in the annual. . . ." The chances are that Conway saw the letter of Goodrich to Hawthorne, dated May 31, 1831, where, as we have seen, four tales are mentioned by name, but Goodrich is, of course, referring to the issue of *The Token* for 1832, where all four were printed.

[40] J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books, and Publishers* (New York, 1884), pp. 112-113.

dividual stories in *The Token*. Those tales printed in the issue for 1832 belonged, we may reasonably assume, to the original collection. *The Gentle Boy* concerned the Puritan persecution of the Quakers in the seventeenth century. *My Kinsman, Major Molineux* concluded with the tarring and feathering of a proud old Tory. *Roger Malvin's Burial* told a tale of the French and Indian War. And *The Wives of the Dead* related a domestic incident occurring, as Hawthorne says, "in a principal seaport town of the Bay Province." *Alice Doane's Appeal*, which had been part of the *Seven Tales*, and of which in 1830 Goodrich had not approved, was not published in *The Token* until 1835.[41] This story, it seems likely, was the one which, in writing to Goodrich in 1829, Hawthorne had referred to as "founded upon the Superstitions of this part of the country." As for the rest of the tales forming the collection, we have little to help us in establishing their identity.[42] Although essentially biographical, *Sir William Pepperell*, contributed to *The Token* for 1833, may have belonged to this series, but *The Canterbury Pilgrims* and *The Seven Vagabonds*, in the same issue of *The Token*, are plainly related to a third project—*The Story Teller*, most of the material of which appeared in the *New England Magazine*. It is not improbable that *The Gray Champion* and *Young Goodman Brown*, included in this new project, were originally items in *Provincial Tales*. *The May-Pole of Merrymount* and *The Minister's Black Veil*, printed in *The Token* for 1836, may possibly have been

[41] *Alice Doane's Appeal* had a strange bibliographical fate. Apparently Hawthorne himself, as well as Goodrich, came to feel that the tale was not an artistic success. This is suggested not only by its delayed publication in *The Token*, but also by the fact that Hawthorne failed to acknowledge the story in later life. It was first reprinted from *The Token* in the posthumous collection, edited by Lathrop in 1883, and entitled *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*.

[42] Two other colonial tales of this period have been ascribed to Hawthorne: *The Young Provincial* in *The Token* for 1830 and *The Downer's Banner* in the *American Monthly Magazine* for September, 1829. See Conway in the *New York Times Saturday Review*, June 8, 1901, and Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. These stories, I feel, have little to suggest Hawthorne's authorship except the fact that they are historical tales. It may be noted, however, that one of the devices on the Downer's banner—"a willow blasted by lightning"—is similar to the symbol employed near the close of *Roger Malvin's Burial*.

part of the group, but the four *Tales of the Province House*[43] seem to have been written at too late a date ever to have had a place in *Provincial Tales*.[44]

III

By 1832 Hawthorne had laid new literary plans. Although he did not wholly abandon the historical vein, he now sought, more realistically, to build a volume of tales around excursions he had made and was to make through New England, New York State, and, as he hoped, Canada. "Once a year, or thereabouts," wrote Hawthorne many years later, "I used to make an excursion of a few weeks, in which I enjoyed as much of life as other people do in the whole year's round."[45] But of his earliest journeys, just after he left college, we know little. In fact, Woodberry has remarked, "There is the same dubiousness about these journeys, his earliest ventures in the world, as about his first attempts in the field of authorship."[46] In a letter written early in the 1830's, Hawthorne describes a trip that he took with his uncle, Samuel Manning, through Connecticut, meeting, as he says, "with many marvellous adventures."[47] Other early letters describe trips to a Quaker settlement in New Hampshire,[48] and to the White Mountains.[49] Still another letter, dated June 28, 1832, and addressed to his college friend, Franklin Pierce, reveals more fully the relationship of these travels to his new literary scheme:

[43] *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, May, July, December, 1838, January, 1839.

[44] Conway (*Life of Nanthaniel Hawthorne*, p. 43) gives no authority for the statement that "Hawthorne at one time meant to call the stories in 'Grandfather's Chair' 'Provincial Tales.' "

[45] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I:97.

[46] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[47] Lathrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145. Lathrop dates the letter 1831.

[49] *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, edited by Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), p. 283. The letter, addressed to his mother, is dated September 16, 1832.

I was making preparations for a Northern tour when this accursed cholera broke out in Canada. It was my intention to go by way of New York and Albany to Niagara; from thence to Montreal and Quebec, and home through Vermont and New Hampshire. I am very desirous of making this journey on account of a book by which I intend to acquire an (undoubtedly) immense literary reputation, but which I cannot commence writing till I have visited Canada. I still hope that the pestilence will disappear, so that it may be safe to go in a month or two.[50]

The special importance Hawthorne here attaches to a trip to Canada has unhappily been lost, but there seems little doubt that he is here alluding to the volume to which he ultimately gave the title of *The Story Teller*. This new group of tales was to derive its unity from "a travelling story-teller, whose shiftings of fortune were to form the interludes and links between the separate stories."[51]

Early in 1834, it would seem, Hawthorne submitted again to Goodrich his new collection of stories. It was a somewhat bulky manuscript, consisting, according to Elizabeth Peabody, of "two volumes."[52] Although Goodrich himself declined to undertake its publication,[53] he displayed sufficient interest in the work to offer the manuscript, or to advise Hawthorne to offer it, to Joseph T. Buckingham. Now Buckingham, who was then the editor of the *New England Magazine*, seems to have agreed to publish the collection serially in that periodical. In the issues of the *New England Magazine* for November and December, 1834, appeared two installments called *The Story Teller*. But unfortunately for Hawthorne, Buckingham, at the close of the year, withdrew as editor, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe and John O. Sargent took over the editorial duties.[54] Then in March of 1835 Park Benjamin became the sole editor and proprietor of the magazine.[55] This shake-up in the

[50] James T. Fields, *Underbrush* (Boston, 1877), p. 35.

[51] Lathrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

[52] Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[54] For Buckingham's editorial valedictory, see the *New England Magazine*, VII: 515 (December, 1834).

[55] Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), p. 601.

editorial staff had a significant effect on the publication of Hawthorne's book. The new editors, and especially Park Benjamin, declined to print any more of the work as a literary unit, with the result that the frame-work of the book was virtually abandoned, and the collection was broken down into such parts as could be printed in the magazine either as stories or essays. Hawthorne especially blamed Park Benjamin for what took place. In writing years later to Elizabeth Peabody, Hawthorne remarked, ". . . it was Park Benjamin, not Goodrich, who cut up the 'Story-teller.'"[56] With the exception of September and October, each 1835 issue of the periodical carried at least one fragment of *The Story Teller*, three numbers publishing two selections, and one number three. At the end of the year, however, the *New England Magazine* was absorbed in the *American Monthly Magazine* of New York. Park Benjamin now shared with Charles Fenno Hoffman the editorship of the paper, and three (possibly four) more parts of Hawthorne's work were published in this periodical in 1836, 1837, and 1838. Hawthorne's reactions to the way in which Benjamin carried to New York the remainder of the manuscripts, some of which appear to have been unpaid for, was decidely unfavorable, although the exact nature of the affair is not clear.[57] In any case, the book was broken up; and, again according to his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Peabody, Hawthorne "said he cared little for the stories afterwards, which had in their original place in *The Story Teller* a great degree of significance; and he got little or nothing as pay. Then, as nobody reviews stories in magazines, it did not serve the purpose of introducing him into the world of letters."[58]

In a moment, we must examine the fragments of *The Story Teller* as they appeared in the *New England Magazine* and in the *American Monthly Magazine*, in an effort to reconstruct, if possible, something of Hawthorne's original design. This design is partially set

[56] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[57] See Bridge, *op. cit.*, 69; and Mott, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-603.

[58] Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

forth in the first two installments of the work as published entire by Mr. Buckingham. It is my belief, however, that Hawthorne in *The Seven Vagabonds*, which was contributed to *The Token* for 1833, had made an earlier attempt to write an introduction to his proposed volume. In this delightful sketch, seven people, to escape a summer shower, meet by chance in the wagon of an itinerant showman. All, we learn, are on their way to the camp-meeting in Stamford, Connecticut; and they now agree to travel together, each in his own way contributing to the happiness of what spectators they may chance to find. For they are resolved to take the world as it goes, embracing "the free mind, that preferred its own folly to another's wisdom; the open spirit, that found companions everywhere; above all, the restless impulse"[59] that would not be stilled. The narrator finds his own place in this happy group to be that of the story teller. "My design, in short," he explains, "was to imitate the story-tellers of whom Oriental travellers have told us, and become an itinerant novelist, reciting my own extemporaneous fictions to such audiences as I could collect."[60] Thus Hawthorne seems at first to have launched his story teller on his travels, with this merry company of vagabonds. But later, I feel reasonably confident, he abandoned this plan for another, terminating abruptly a situation which he had so delightfully built up. As the company are about to proceed on their way to Stamford, a Methodist preacher rides up from that direction, and hastily announces that "the camp-meeting is broke up." Whereupon the vagabonds separate, going their several ways.[61] Although rejecting the sketch as an introduction to the work he was to write, Hawthorne doubtless wished to preserve its substance as a tale, and so brought the sketch artificially to a close. In any case, this essentially abortive story reveals the plan for the new collection taking shape in his mind, for he has already begun to associate his travels

[59] *Twice-Told Tales*, p. 409.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 409.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

with the impulse of the *raconteur*. We have noted the letter, written in the early 1830's, in which he relates some of his experiences in Connecticut; and a significant passage in *The Vagabonds*, put into the mouth of the conjurer, suggests again Hawthorne's desire (whether it ever became a reality we may doubt) of including Canada among his travels:

"I am taking a trip northward, this warm weather," replied the conjurer, "across the Connecticut first, and then up through Vermont, and may be into Canada before the fall. . . ."[62]

But Hawthorne finally presented his story teller in quite a different way. The first two installments of the work, which appeared unaltered in the *New England Magazine*, not only introduce the narrator, but reveal that Hawthorne intended a dramatic relationship between the framework and the stories making up the collection. These two installments were finally collected as *Passages From a Relinquished Work* in the second edition of *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1854).[63] Here the story teller, similar in

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

[63] I should here like to present some passages from a letter of Hawthorne which, I hope, may throw light not only on what has already been observed regarding *The Story Teller*, but what will be said presently. This letter was written when Hawthorne was serving as consul in Liverpool. His publishers, Ticknor and Fields, were about to issue the second edition of *Mosses From an Old Manse*, and they wished additional material to fill out the new two-volume collection. The extracts are reprinted from *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor*, 1851-1864 (Newark, New Jersey, The Carteret Book Club, 1910), I:44-49. Extracts reprinted with the kind permission of the Club.

Liverpool, June 7th, 1854

DEAR TICKNOR,

You put me to my trumps by asking for additional matter for the "Mosses"; for I considered myself exhausted on that score, long ago. Nevertheless, there is "Feathertop"—which is almost as good as any of them. Let that go in. It has just occurred to me, moreover, that in the New England Magazine, when published by Park Benjamin, many of the stories appeared which are now collected in the "Twice-told Tales"; and the publication of them was commenced with about ten or more pages of introductory matter, which I think, will do very well to publish as an article in the "Mosses". It should be separated from all extraneous stuff (which, if I recollect rightly, may be done easy [*sic*] enough,) and may be called "passages from a relinquished work"—or something of that kind. I believe the title was "The Itinerant Storyteller". There are other detached passages of mine, scattered through Park Benjamin's volumes of that magazine; and Fields would readily recognize them. Let him do as he pleases about in-

character to the young man of *The Seven Vagabonds*, describes himself as "a youth of gay and happy temperament, with an incorrigible levity of spirit, of no vicious propensities, sensible enough, but wayward and fanciful."[64] Indeed, alluding to the earlier sketch, he remarks, "The idea of becoming a wandering story teller had been suggested, a year or two before, by an encounter with several merry vagabonds in a showman's wagon, where they and I had sheltered ourselves during a summer shower."[65] Finding his life in a country village intolerable under the guardianship of Parson Thumpcushion, the young man, one fine June morning, goes forth into the world. Along the way, he meets Eliakim Abbott, a shy young minister of the gospel, who is determined to address all "sinners on the welfare of their immortal souls."[66] Together, this odd pair go from village to village, each eager to fulfill the demands of his calling. After some humiliating failures, they finally enter a town where Eliakim manages to gather in the village schoolhouse "about fifteen hearers, mostly females."[67] While the young preacher struggles in vain to hold the attention of his small group ("at the conclusion of the prayer several of the little audience went out"), the story teller in the village theatre recites with great applause the tale of *Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe.*

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serting any or all of them;—only being careful to put in nothing that he does not feel absolutely certain about. The beginning, and the conclusion, of the "Itinerant Storyteller" are there at an interval of some months and are written quite up to the usual level of my scribblings. . . .

Truly your friend,
Nath[l] Hawthorne

P.S. All that I now recollect of my articles in the New England Magazine are,—The Story teller aforesaid, begun in an early number and concluded long afterwards, I think, under some other title; and a description of an evening at the mountain-house, among the White Hills. These passages formed part of a work, the whole of which was never published. Do not print any more of it than will be sufficient to meet the exigency of the case; though really, as far as I can remember, it is not bad stuff.

[64] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 459.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 459-460.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

In this prefatory matter which I have here sought to outline, Hawthorne also sets forth in part the nature of his proposed work. Having expressed his determination to leave his native place, the story teller remarks:

> The following pages will contain a picture of my vagrant life, intermixed with specimens, generally brief and slight, of that great mass of fiction to which I gave existence, and which has vanished like cloud shapes.[68]

Experience in his art taught him, as time went on, the range of feeling and power which must be his if he were to be a successful *raconteur*:

> No talent or attainment could come amiss; everything, indeed, was requisite—wide observation, varied knowledge, deep thoughts, and sparkling ones; pathos and levity, and a mixture of both, like sunshine in a raindrop; lofty imagination, veiling itself in the garb of common life; and the practised art which alone could render these gifts, and more than these, available.[69]

In the exercise of his art, much was to be left to mother wit—much to sheer inspiration:

> I manufactured a great variety of plots and skeletons of tales, and kept them ready for use, leaving the filling up to the inspiration of the moment; though I cannot remember ever to have told a tale which did not vary considerably from my preconceived idea, and acquire a novelty of aspect as often as I repeated it.[70]

And finally the collection as a whole was to have a moral:

> But I write the book for the sake of its moral, which many a dreaming youth may profit by, though it is the experience of a wandering story teller.[71]

The second installment of *The Story Teller*, as published in the *New England Magazine*, was broken, at the proper dramatic moment, by the insertion of *Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe*. After the recital of the tale, the narrator describes his success. "I never knew the 'magic of a name' till I used that of Mr. Higginbotham. Often as I repeated it, there were louder bursts of merriment than

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 460.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 469.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 470.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 461.

those which responded to what, in my opinion, were more legitimate strokes of humor."[72] When Hawthorne came to publish his *Twice-Told Tales* in 1837, *Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe* was lifted from its context and included in that volume.

The rest of *The Story Teller*, reduced by the magazine editors to individual tales and sketches, offers a baffling and, I fear, insoluble problem to one who would rebuild Hawthorne's project as a dramatic unit. Although Hawthorne and the magazine editors undoubtedly sought to make copy out of as much of the original as possible, a very considerable amount must have been scrapped. And as one studies the remaining fragments, one feels the truth of Hawthorne's alleged assertion that "he cared little for the stories afterwards, which had in their original place in the 'Story-teller' a great deal of significance."[73] "The following pages," asserts the story teller, "will contain a picture of my vagrant life;"[74] and, as we shall see, a number of sketches do deal with his travels. But how the stories are related to the travels, and under what circumstances they are told, and before what audiences, we now have almost no means of knowing.

The Gray Champion,[75] possibly carried over from *Provincial Tales*, was the first installment to appear after the abandonment of the original plan; and seven more compositions which may be classified strictly as tales were published at intervals: *Young Goodman Brown*,[76] *Wakefield*,[77] *The Ambitious Guest*,[78] *The Old Maid in the Winding Sheet*,[79] *The Vision of the Fountain*,[80] *The Devil in Manu-*

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 473.

[73] Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[74] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 460.

[75] *New England Magazine*, January, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1837).

[76] *New England Magazine*, April, 1835. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

[77] *New England Magazine*, May, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1837).

[78] *New England Magazine*, June, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1842).

[79] *New England Magazine*, July, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1842).

[80] *New England Magazine*, August, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1837).

script,[81] *A Visit to the Clerk of the Weather*,[82] and possibly *The Threefold Destiny*.[83] Then occasionally the editors inserted essays, such as *Old News* (three installments),[84] *A Rill from the Town Pump*,[85] and *Graves and Goblins*.[86]

A third group of pieces consisted of travel sketches, which, in Hawthorne's original plan, must have been links and interludes between the stories. Owing to the fragmentary manner in which these sketches were presented, it is now virtually impossible to trace the itinerary of the story teller. When Hawthorne wrote in 1832 regarding his contemplated trip, he expressed the intention of going "by way of New York and Albany to Niagara; from thence to Montreal and Quebec, and home through Vermont and New Hampshire." But although, as we shall see, he probably made an excursion by boat on Lake Ontario, there is no evidence that he ever crossed the border into Canada. In general, however, the story teller may have followed the route suggested in this letter. If we assume that the narrator had somehow made his way to the State of New York, we now find him on the Grand Canal "about thirty miles below Utica."[87] In the fragment called *The Canal Boat*[88] he describes minutely a number of his fellow passengers, and mentions "traversing the 'long level,' a dead flat

[81] *New England Magazine*, November, 1835. Collected in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales* (1852).

[82] *American Monthly Magazine*, May, 1836. Hawthorne's authorship of this tale has been disputed. Although the evidence is not conclusive, the fact that the Clerk of the Weather as a supernatural character appears again in *A Select Party* (*Mosses From an Old Manse*, 1846) would seem to point to Hawthorne's authorship.

[83] *American Monthly Magazine*, March, 1838. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1842). This tale was published somewhat too late to have belonged originally to *The Story Teller*. Still, it is difficult to understand why it should have been printed at all in this periodical if it had not been part of the project.

[84] *New England Magazine*, February, 1835; March, 1835; May, 1835. Collected in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales* (1852).

[85] *New England Magazine*, June, 1835. Collected in *Twice-Told Tales* (1837).

[86] *New England Magazine*, June, 1835. Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876).

[87] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 485.

[88] Part of *Sketches From Memory By A Pedestrian, No. II* in: *New England Magazine*, December, 1835. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1854).

between Utica and Syracuse. . . ."[89] This sketch is twice broken by asterisks; and we may reasonably suppose that at these points the story teller held forth for the benefit of those aboard the canal boat, but with what stories he regaled them we cannot say. Just before the boat reached Syracuse, it was found necessary to make a brief stop. The narrator left the boat for a little walk. While he was amusing himself on shore, the boat started on its way again; and he was now stranded "on the 'long level,' at midnight, with the comfortable prospect of a walk to Syracuse, . . ."[90] His next major stop may have been Rochester, for in a sketch of that title,[91] he describes the city, as well as the falls of the Genesee. Here again, we find gaps indicated by asterisks. Then in *My Visit to Niagara*[92] he gives fully his impression of the great falls; and in *A Night Scene*[93] a Lake Erie steamboat is carrying him to Detroit. Finally, his tour of Western New York probably included a trip to the St. Lawrence. In the sketch *An Ontario Steam-Boat*[94] he remarks: ". . . I had embarked at Ogdensburgh, and was voyaging westward, to the other extremity of Lake Ontario . . ."

On his way back, in this hypothetical record of his travels, the story teller stopped at Burlington and Ticonderoga. "It was a

[89] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 492.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 494.

[91] Part of *Sketches From Memory . . . No. II.* Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876).

[92] *New England Magazine*, February, 1835. Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876). Two brief descriptive pieces also relating to Niagara are to be found in Hawthorne's "Fragments From the Journal of a Solitary Man." See footnote 102.

[93] Part of *Sketches From Memory . . . No. II.* Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876).

[94] I feel reasonably certain that this sketch belonged originally to *The Story Teller*. It was first published in the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* (March, 1836) of which Hawthorne was for a time the editor. During the brief period of his editorship, he often found it difficult to prepare sufficient copy for the printer, and this short descriptive piece, which for some reason he may have had by him, he turned to good use. In this sketch, besides describing some of his fellow passengers, as in *The Canal Boat*, he indulges in contemptuous remarks at the expense of the Irish, as in the *The Inland Port*. For Hawthorne's editorship of the *American Magazine* and for selections from his contributions to the periodical, see *Hawthorne as Editor*, edited by Arlin Turner, University, Louisiana, 1941.

bright forenoon," he states in *The Inland Port*,[95] "when I set foot on the beach at Burlington, and took leave of the two boatmen in whose little skiff I had voyaged since daylight from Peru. Not that we had come that morning from South America, but only from the New York shore of Lake Champlain."[96] A brief description of Burlington then follows. In *Old Ticonderoga. A Picture of the Past*,[97] Hawthorne describes the old fort, and ruminates on the historical events with which it had once been connected. This sketch originally had two opening paragraphs, which were deleted when the item was collected. The first is significant:

> In returning once to New England, from a visit to Niagara, I found myself, one summer's day, before noon, at Orwell, about forty miles from the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, which has here the aspect of a river or a creek. We were on the Vermont shore, with a ferry, of less than a mile wide, between us and the town of Ti, in New-York.[98]

Assuming that the story teller visited New England as he was returning home, we have next to pause over his visit to the White Mountains. *The Notch* and *Our Evening Party Among the Mountains*[99] are closely related sketches in which he describes the Notch and his stay at Ethan Crawford's inn.[100] *The Ambitious Guest* may

[95] Part of *Sketches From Memory . . . No. II.* Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces* (1876).

[96] *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*, p. 13. Hawthorne himself stopped at Burlington as he returned from the White Mountains in September, 1832. See the letter addressed to his mother in *The American Notebooks* (edited by Randall Stewart), p. 283.

[97] *American Monthly Magazine*, February, 1836. Collected in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales* (1852).

[98] *American Monthly Magazine*, (n.s.) I:138 (February, 1836).

[99] *Sketches From Memory . . . No. I* in: *New England Magazine*, November, 1835. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1854).

[100] Hawthorne actually stopped at "Ethan Crawford's house" on his visit to the White Mountains. See again the letter addressed to his mother. It seems likely, as Professor Stewart has suggested, that Hawthorne, while at Crawford's inn, had heard the story of the Willey family, which he used as the narrative basis of *The Ambitious Guest* (*The American Notebooks*, p. xlv). Of course, contemporary written accounts of the tragedy must have been common, although none has come to my notice. I believe it has not been observed, however, that a poem entitled *Destruction of the Willey Family. A Ballad* appeared in *The Religious Offering for MDCCCXXXV* (New York, 1835). Although the volume is in form an annual, the contents were apparently written by a single individual, of whose identity I am not aware. The preface

have been intended for narration at this juncture in the adventures of the story teller. References in the tale clearly link it to the descriptive matter we have already mentioned. The young man in the story speaks of Burlington, the Notch, and Ethan Crawford's tavern. I am also of the opinion that *The Great Carbuncle*, published in *The Token* for 1837, may have fitted into the frame-work of the project, to be recited at Crawford's inn. Not only does the story teller relate briefly in *Our Evening Party* the legend of the Carbuncle, but he remarks, "On this theme methinks I could frame a tale with a deep moral."[101]

And now for the story teller's return, which is fully described in the second section of *Fragments From the Journal of a Solitary Man*.[102] The youth approaches and enters the village which, some years before, he had left to become a teller of tales. In returning, he makes no allusion to Parson Thumpcushion (possibly the old gentleman had died in his absence), but he does note once more the business establishments of Dominicus Pike and Mr. Nightingale, which he had particularly mentioned as he left his native town. But alas for our hero; he returns a sadder and a wiser man.

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is dated January 1, 1835; but, like all annuals, the book was probably published in time for the holiday trade of the preceding year. Since the tales comprising *The Story Teller* must have been written prior to November, 1834, the poem in the annual could certainly not have influenced the writing of the tale. For a much later account of the destruction of the Willey family, see Joseph T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs* . . . (Boston, 1852), I:175.

[101] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 483.

[102] *Fragments From the Journal of a Solitary Man* first appeared in the *American Monthly Magazine*, July, 1837; and was collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces*. This group of sketches begins with a description of a "sensitive recluse" named "Oberon," with supposed extracts from his journal. The first of these extracts is a morbid piece of self-analysis, evidently written by Hawthorne in a depressed mood. It is difficult to see what place this sketch could possibly have had in *The Story Teller*. Yet, at the close of this selection, Hawthorne, by means of a clumsy interlude has attempted to identify the morbid "Oberon" with what is apparently the story teller. Then follow two descriptive fragments dealing with Niagara, supposedly from the pen of "Oberon," but plainly parts of *The Story Teller*. Finally, in a second section entitled *My Home Return* we have what is, without doubt, the conclusion of *The Story Teller*. This, too, is represented as written by "Oberon." Thus apparently, through the fiction of "Oberon," Hawthorne tried to tie together a number of miscellaneous fragments from his own pen, but it is virtually impossible to reconcile the character of "Oberon" with that of the story teller.

We are led to believe that he has burned his candle at both ends, and has come home to die. The youth who had left the village with so light a heart, now looks upon himself as an example to some other young man who might follow in his footsteps:

> "He shall be taught," said I, "by my life, and by my death, that the world is a sad one for him who shrinks from its sober duties. My experience shall warn him to adopt some great and serious aim, such as manhood will cling to, that he may not feel himself, too late, a cumberer of this overladen earth, but a man among men." [103]

Such was to have been the moral of Hawthorne's book!

Any attempt, it will be seen, to reconstruct accurately the original plan of Hawthorne's project is futile. We cannot be certain that the itinerary of the story teller was ever so clearly defined as we have sought to make it. Even the New England village from which the young man sets forth and to which he finally returns is never localized; and Hawthorne may not have intended the man's travels to form an exact geographical pattern.[104] Nor may we be sure that other fragments of the work than those that were printed in the *New England Magazine* and the *American Monthly Magazine* may not have been published elsewhere. It seems probable that Hawthorne made copy out of all the material for which he could find a publisher. Indeed, in cutting the melon, the editors may have reserved for Goodrich some of the more desirable slices. Such a division of the manuscript may be inferred from the statement of Miss Peabody that Goodrich declined to bring out Hawthorne's book, but "said he was publishing *The Token*, and would buy some of the stories for this, and also the editor of the *New England Magazine* would take some of the stories. So they tore up the book, . . ."[105] As I have already pointed out, it is difficult to believe that *The Great Carbuncle*, contributed to *The Token* for 1837, was not part of the project. Whether such tales as *The May-*

[103] *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*, p. 40.

[104] Such a conclusion, for example, is suggested by the casual opening of *Old Ticonderoga*, already quoted.

[105] Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Pole of Merrymount and *The Minister's Black Veil*, both in *The Token* for 1836, had originally a place in the collection, we may only conjecture.

Although, in its present fragmentary state, we are hardly justified in passing judgment on the possible artistic success of Hawthorne's endeavor, we may perhaps hazard the guess that his material was never fully or completely integrated. No one will be likely to deny that the success of such a work as Hawthorne had planned would depend not simply on the author's narrative skill, but on his ability to adjust the stories dramatically to their framework. To effect such an adjustment—which I believe was never in Hawthorne's power consistently to do—the writer must anticipate the recital of each tale with proper introductory matter, and nicely adapt the story to the audience to which it is presented. A dramatic situation of this kind Hawthorne created in the presentation of *Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe*, the merry rollicking tale fitting admirably the audience of rustics at the village theatre. As the narrator remarks, "This story was originally more dramatic than as there presented, and afforded good scope for mimicry and buffoonery, neither of which, to my shame, did I spare."[106] Such a dramatic effect was undoubtedly Hawthorne's aim throughout his proposed book, for near the beginning of the work he asserts that "With each specimen will be given a sketch of the circumstances in which the story was told."[107] But I fancy that many of the stories and essays making up the collection were first written as separate units; and if this be the case, no amount of effort expended on interludes and descriptive comment could ever have brought these tales into proper dramatic focus. One wonders what possible dramatic significance *The Old Maid in the Winding Sheet* could have had; or to what audience the essay, *Graves and Goblins*[108] could effectively have been presented. The final disposition, in the

[106] *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 473.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 461.

[108] The reference at the beginning to "gentle reader" and other phrases of a similar kind entirely rob this essay of any dramatic illusion.

dramatic sense, of the minister, Eliakim Abbott, suggests another disturbing problem, for, so far as we see, after the opening chapters, he entirely disappears from the picture.[109] If my conjecture be correct as to the dramatic weakness of Hawthorne's execution of his plan, it is not strange that the editors of the *New England Magazine* found it feasible to cut up the manuscript, and to present to their readers only the more significant and entertaining parts.

An examination of the literary material composing *The Story Teller* leaves one with the impression that Hawthorne, in writing the work, may have had partly in mind an American sketch book. Even in the early 1830's, the literary spell of the author of *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* was still potent. To combine the travel sketch, the reflective essay, the tale in a single volume; to bestow upon the whole the romantic charm that derives from distance — all this Longfellow sought to achieve in his first literary work, *Outre-Mer*. Preliminary studies for this work appeared, curiously enough, in early issues of the *New England Magazine* under the title of *The Schoolmaster*. The ultimate result of these literary experiments was *Outre-Mer*[110] — two separate parts being published in 1833 and 1834, the whole in 1835. Longfellow's complete work was issued too late to have had any direct influence on Hawthorne's project; yet Hawthorne, like his Bowdoin classmate, felt, I believe, the influence of *The Sketch Book*, and in *The Story Teller* sought in part to apply the Irvingesque method to America and to the American scene. As the narrator remarks, "Thus my airdrawn pictures will be set in frames perhaps more valuable than the pictures themselves, since they will be embossed

[109] I cannot believe with Lathrop that the minister was to go "from town to town, giving a sermon every morning, while [the story teller] who accompanied him was to relate in public, every afternoon, a story illustrating the text previously discoursed upon by the preacher; . . ." See *Introductory Note* to *Twice-Told Tales* (Riverside Edition), p. 9.

[110] See Lawrance Thompson, *Young Longfellow, 1807-1838* (New York, 1938), pp. 382-383. While Longfellow was in Germany in 1829, he had also started a Sketch Book of New England (*Ibid.*, pp. 133-134).

with groups of characteristic figures, amid the lake and mountain scenery, the villages and fertile fields, of our native land."[111]

IV

We need not dwell on the outcome of Hawthorne's successive failures to bring out a collection of his tales. Through the kindly offices of Horatio Bridge, the *Twice-Told Tales* appeared in 1837; and in 1842, a second series was published. Hawthorne then went with his wife to live in the Old Manse, and *Mosses From an Old Manse,* brought out in 1846, was the literary fruit of these four years. But during his residence in Concord, Hawthorne seems to have planned another volume of stories, over which we may briefly pause. *Egotism; or the Bosom Serpent*[112] and *The Christmas Banquet*[113] are designated in their titles as coming *From the Unpublished "Allegories of the Heart."* Nowhere else does Hawthorne mention by name *The Allegories of the Heart;* and it is the belief of Miss Elizabeth Chandler that Hawthorne never "projected a separate collection under this title, but merely wished to group the two together,..."[114] But of this we cannot be sure. "The human Heart," he suggests in his journal in 1842, might "be allegorized as a cavern."[115] Always fascinated by speculative psychology, Hawthorne, by the early forties, had come to explore with a curious penetration "the gloomy mysteries of the human heart"[116]—a strange and sinister study, since in that gloom there lies estrangement from one's fellows. These gloomy mysteries affecting so profoundly the social life of man were the theme not only of *Egotism* and *The Christmas Banquet*, but also of *The Birthmark*,[117]

[111] *Mosses From an Old Manse,* p. 461.

[112] *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* March, 1843. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

[113] *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* January, 1844. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

[114] Chandler, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[115] *The American Notebooks* (Edited by Randall Stewart) p. 98.

[116] *Mosses From an Old Manse,* p. 322.

[117] *Pioneer,* March, 1843. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

Rappaccini's Daughter,[118] and *Earth's Holocaust*[119]—all written and published during his stay in the Old Manse. Hawthorne could have drawn numerous other stories into his project, for the ramifications of his theme were many. In this collection, for example, he might have included *The Antique Ring*, contributed to *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*,[120] but never collected by the author. Through one of his characters the symbolism of this tale is finally revealed: ". . . we may suppose the Gem to be the human heart, and the Evil Spirit to be Falsehood, which, in one guise or another, is the fiend that causes all the sorrow and trouble in the world."[121] Although certainly written at a somewhat later period, and never associated directly with the group, *Ethan Brand* was also conceived during these years in Concord.[122] But Hawthorne had doubtless come to realize the monotony inherent in any collection of stories which derives its unity from a single theme. Some years later, when Rufus Griswold asked him to write for the *International Magazine* a series of twelve short tales, possessing an underlying theme, Hawthorne gave expression to the opinion to which he had finally come after twenty years of authorship:

> The reader would inevitably be tired to death of the one prominent idea, if presented to him under different aspects for a twelve-month together.[123]

V

By 1846 Hawthorne had returned with his family to Salem, and was working in the Custom House. He now had less time to devote to writing; in fact, he seems to have grown weary of com-

[118] *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, December, 1844. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

[119] *Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1844. Collected in *Mosses From an Old Manse* (1846).

[120] February, 1843. Collected in *The Dolliver Romance and Other Pieces.*

[121] *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*, p. 67.

[122] In 1844 Hawthorne made in his journal two entries on which the theme of *Ethan Brand* was later based. See *The American Notebooks* (Edited by Randall Stewart), p. 106.

[123] *Passages From the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1898), p. 280.

posing tales that yielded him so little money. And where, too, was the literary reputation for which he longed? So far as I can discover, he produced but three stories at this period: *Main Street*,[124] *The Great Stone Face*,[125] and *Ethan Brand*.[126] Then early in June of 1849 came the news of his dismissal from the Custom House. Now deprived of his livelihood, he once more returned seriously to authorship, and during the following months was wholly absorbed in writing *The Scarlet Letter*. It was probably toward the close of 1849 that Hawthorne handed to James T. Fields the first draft of the famous romance. Fields relates that Hawthorne had originally intended the story to "occupy about two hundred pages" in a volume "of several short stories." The book was to be called:

> Old-Time Legends:
> Together with Sketches,
> Experimental and Ideal[127]

When Fields, however, finally persuaded Hawthorne to enlarge *The Scarlet Letter*, and publish it as a single volume, *Old-Time Legends* was abandoned as a project. Hawthorne and Fields probably came to this decision early in January, 1850.

Whether Hawthorne had entirely made up his mind about the contents of his new book when he turned over to Fields *The Scarlet Letter*, it would be hard to say. But we may be reasonably sure that the three tales written during his Custom House years were to be part of the collection. Julian Hawthorne avers that *The Snow Image* was also a product of these years in Salem.[128] If so, it seems very odd that Hawthorne should have allowed so good a tale to remain unpublished as late as August, 1850, when it was transmitted to Griswold for publication in *The Memorial*.[129] I believe it

[124] *Aesthetic Papers, edited by Elizabeth P. Peabody* (Boston, 1849), pp. 145-174.
[125] *National Era*, January 24, 1850.
[126] *Boston Museum*, January 5, 1850.
[127] Fields, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[128] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I: 312, 330.
[129] Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books*, p. 140.

likely that *The Snow Image* was composed in 1850, and hence could not have had a place in *Old-Time Legends*. The descriptive phrases employed in the title of Hawthorne's proposed collection are so vague and colorless as to offer only the most general clues for determining the classification of his material. It seems clear, however, that in using the word *Experimental* he must have referred to *Ethan Brand*.

VI

When in 1846 Hawthorne came to review his sojourn in Concord, he wrote that early in his stay at the Old Manse he had "resolved at least to achieve a novel that should evolve some deep lesson and should possess physical substance enough to stand alone."[130] This dream of his Concord years to build some more permanent and lasting work of art was, of course, left unfulfilled. And one detects a wistful note in his assertion that *Mosses From an Old Manse* will be his "last collection" of tales.[131] Indeed, from an economic point of view, the thought of ending his days a mere writer of tales had already come to disturb and perplex him. The slowness with which he composed and the difficulty which at this time he experienced in collecting from the mazagine editors the money due him,[132] were largely responsible for this mood of perplexity. "It will never do for me," he wrote to George S. Hillard in 1844, "to continue merely a writer of stories for magazines—the most unprofitable business in the world."[133] Seven years later, with the writing of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables* behind him, he could assert to Rufus Griswold, who had asked him to do a series of short tales, that "experience has taught me that the thought and trouble, expended on that kind of pro-

[130] *The Old Manse*, introduction to *Mosses From an Old Manse*, p. 13.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[132] See Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1897), pp. 69-71; and Randall Stewart, *Letters to Sophia* in: *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, VII: 393 (August, 1944).

[133] *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Old Manse Edition), XVII: 424.

duction, is vastly greater, in proportion, than what is required for a long story."[134]

Dire financial need had finally driven Hawthorne to the writing of *The Scarlet Letter*. Yet, some years before, he had caught the shadowy outline of another extended romance, which, had he been able to materialize the vision, might have approached in depth and emotional power *The Scarlet Letter*. *Ethan Brand* was probably written toward the close of 1848.[135] In December of that year, Mrs. Hawthorne sent to her mother what was certainly the manuscript of the story. It was intended for Elizabeth P. Peabody's anthology, *Aesthetic Papers*. Hawthorne had some doubt as to the suitability of the tale, for Mrs. Hawthorne remarked, "My husband says that if this paper will not suit the book, he will make some other use of it if you will send it back." Though Mrs. Hawthorne did not name the story, she described it with unusual accuracy. "It is a tremendous truth, written, as he often writes truth, with characters of fire, upon an infinite gloom,—softened so as not wholly to terrify, by divine touches of beauty,—revealing pictures of nature, and also the tender spirit of a child."[136] But the story, as Hawthorne had suspected, apparently did not please Miss Peabody, and *Main Street* was ultimately substituted.

But the tale, although certainly for a different reason, seems not wholly to have pleased Hawthorne. On December 14, 1848, he submitted it to Charles Wilkins Webber. Again the title of the story was not mentioned, but the description is ample for purposes of identification. "At last," said Hawthorne, "by main strength, I have wrenched and torn an idea out of my miserable brain; or rather, the fragment of an idea, like a tooth ill-drawn, and leaving the roots to torture me." Once more he was uncertain

[134] *Passages From the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus Griswold*, p. 280. The letter is dated December 15, 1851.

[135] See, for example, E. K. Brown, *Hawthorne, Melville, and Ethan Brand* in: *American Literature*, III:72-75 (March, 1931).

[136] J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I:330-331. The letter is dated "Salem, December, 1848."

whether it would be acceptable. "Perhaps," he wrote, "you will not like it; if so, make no ceremony about rejecting it."[137]

It seems clear that Hawthorne was here alluding to a tale intended for a magazine which Webber, naturalist and journalist, had projected in the late forties. This was to have been an elaborate periodical, expensively illustrated with copperplate engravings. According to Evert Duyckinck, the material for the first number was fully assembled, but before it could be issued, the project had to be abandoned. Duyckinck mentions Hawthorne among the contributors to the first issue;[138] and *Ethan Brand* was presumably the contribution.

With the tale left on Webber's hands when his project collapsed, how did he finally dispose of Hawthorne's story? I find no evidence that it was returned to the author. And the adventures of the manuscript during the following year offer a somewhat perplexing problem. We know that *Ethan Brand* was first published in the *Boston Museum*, January 5, 1850.[139] In April, 1851, Evert A. Duyckinck became editor and proprietor of *Holden's Dollar Magazine*.[140] He had seen *Ethan Brand* in the *Museum*; and while gathering material for the *Dollar Magazine*,[141] he had written to Hawthorne, asking permission to reprint the story. "As respects the 'Unpardonable Sin,'" wrote Hawthorne in reply on March 14, 1851, "I think I recollect that Webber asked permission to have it published in the Boston Museum, and I presume it was

[137] Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[138] Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II: 666. See also Randall Stewart, *Two Uncollected Reviews* in: *New England Quarterly*, IX: 507-508 (September, 1936).

[139] The publication of the tale in the *Boston Museum* was first pointed out by Professor Stewart in a communication to the *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 27, 1929.

[140] On the fly-leaf of volumes 7 and 8 of *Holden's Dollar Magazine* in The New York Public Library is the following notation: "Beginning with April, 1851, it was edited and published by Evert A. Duyckinck, who has added, in this copy, pencil memoranda giving authorship of many of the articles." These two volumes, bound in one, are part of the Duyckinck Collection.

[141] When Duyckinck took over the periodical in April, he changed the title to the *Dollar Magazine*.

published accordingly, though I never saw it. I shall be happy to have you use it, and have no objection to the suggested change of title."[142]

Are we to assume, then, that Webber, having originally paid Hawthorne for the story, sold it, with the author's consent, to the editors of the *Museum*?[143] Hawthorne's vagueness about the publication of the tale in the *Museum*—especially the fact that he had never seen the tale in print—is strange indeed! Yet all of this uncertainty is but part of the mystery which apparently surrounded the manuscript after the collapse of Webber's periodical. In fact, sufficient obscurity envelopes the whole question to lend a degree of credibility to an anecdote touching the manuscript, related by John T. Trowbridge. He had noticed the story in the *Museum*, and

> Knowing the editor, I hastened to inquire of him how he had been able to get a contribution from Hawthorne. Complacently puffing his cigar, he told me it had come to him from some other office, where it had been "knocking around," that he didn't suppose it had ever been paid for, and that he had printed it without consulting the author. He rather expected to hear from him, but he never did; and it is quite probable that Hawthorne never knew of the illicit publication.[144]

In any case, Hawthorne's apparent indifference to the fate of his tale, combined with other evidence, points to the probability that the author was uncertain of the artistic merit of what he had written. That he seems to have been singularly conscious of its disconnected character is clear from the phrase which followed the title of the story as printed in the *Boston Museum*—*From an Unpublished Work*. Although the version in the *Dollar Magazine* in-

[142] Manuscript owned by The New York Public Library, which has kindly granted permission for the publication of this passage. I wish further to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Williams and Stewart, who first provided me with a transcript of the passage.

[143] Webber seems to have had no editorial connections with the *Boston Museum*. Since, however, to the issue of the paper for December 1, 1849 he contributed two sonnets, it is clear that he was not unknown to the editors. That he may have been frequently in Boston at this time is suggested by the fact that he was married in that city in 1849. See Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia*, II: 666.

[144] John T. Trowbridge, *My Own Story* (Boston, 1903), p. 120.

cluded no such designation, in collecting the story in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales,* Hawthorne again, with even greater stress, called the reader's attention to the fragmentary nature of the work. *Ethan Brand* now became *A Chapter From an Abortive Romance.*

The conclusion seems inescapable that Hawthorne wrote *Ethan Brand* as the last and crowning chapter of a novel, but found it impossible to finish what he had started. Indeed, it appears unlikely that he ever tried to complete the novel, allowing the fragment to suggest the scope and nature of the whole. A number of allusions in *Ethan Brand* reveal that here Hawthorne had presumably intended to bring together the narrative threads of an extended romance. Fully analyzed, the fragment discloses much of Hawthorne's original plan for the whole. This novel would certainly have developed in detail the eighteen years of Ethan's life, from the time he left his native village in search of the Unpardonable Sin to the moment of his dramatic return. Near the beginning of the tale a considerable passage of time is indicated, although no antecedent action has occurred:

> Many years, *as we have seen,* had now elapsed since the portentous night when the Idea was first developed.[145]

Nor are we left wholly unguided as to the way in which Hawthorne meant to fill in the episodes of those mysterious years. The concrete events, as well as the nature and character of Ethan's search, are here and there alluded to. In the course of the story, the village doctor is presented whom, "at an earlier period of his life," Hawthorne asserts, "we introduced as paying a professional visit to Ethan Brand during the latter's supposed insanity."[146] Professor Bliss Perry believes that "the idea of bringing 'Doctor

[145] *House of the Seven Gables and The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales,* p. 478. Italics mine.

[146] *Ibid.,* p. 487. This clause in the version published in the *Boston Museum* and in the *Dollar Magazine* had read " . . . we should have introduced as paying a professional visit. . . ." The change was made when the tale was collected in *The Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales,* 1852.

Bob,' with his huge animalism and mordant humor, 'savage as a wild beast and miserable as a lost soul,' to minister to the spiritual malady that preyed upon Ethan Brand, might easily have resulted in a scene unmatched in the whole range of Hawthorne's work."[147] A little later, among the crowd who had gathered to see Brand, an old man is pointed out whose daughter Ethan had once "made the subject of a psychological experiment, and wasted, absorbed, and perhaps annihilated her soul, in the process."[148] She is casually referred to as "the Esther of our tale," although she has not been previously mentioned. This, too, might have been made a moving chapter in the novel.

Finally, near the close of the tale, Brand reviews psychologically his past life as he sits for the last time before the lime-kiln. In this remarkable passage,[149] too long to quote, Hawthorne outlines what would certainly have been the thematic and narrative substance of the novel. He would have shown Brand develop, through his mad search, from a tender, sympathetic man into the very embodiment of lofty pride and intellect — the man who "had lost his hold on the magnetic chain of humanity."[150] Such was the Unpardonable Sin. Who does not wish that Hawthorne had written a novel on this powerful theme? Yet who can doubt that he had mapped out for himself a romance which, he quickly discovered, he had not the power as an artist to complete?

We have sought to examine and reconstruct, so far as possible, the more important literary plans which Hawthorne failed to bring to completion. Of these, the most ambitious were laid before he had reached middle-age. Naturally, his failure to realize these early ambitions sprang in part from the sensitiveness and immaturity of the young man. Something of the intellectual at-

[147] *Hawthorne at North Adams* in: *The Amateur Spirit* (Boston, 1904), p. 136.

[148] *The House of the Seven Gables and the Snow Image and Other Twice-Told Tales*, p. 489.

[149] *Ibid.*, pp. 494-495.

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 495.

mosphere surrounding the earlier projects Hawthorne himself vividly recalled in 1840 in a letter to Sophia, now familiar to every student of the author. He had just returned to the "old accustomed chamber" in his Salem home—to the room where, as he says, "I used to sit in the days gone by.... Here I have written many tales,—many that have been burned to ashes, many that doubtless deserved the same fate. This claims to be a haunted chamber, for thousands upon thousands of visions have appeared to me in it, and some few of them have become visible to the world. If ever I should have a biographer, he ought to make great mention of this chamber in my memoirs, because so much of my lonely youth was wasted here, and here my mind and character were formed; and here I have been glad and hopeful, and here I have been despondent."[151] Yet sensitive though he was, quite as much of his failure was due to the fear and procrastination of the publishers who had the handling of his manuscripts. During the 1830's and 1840's, there was but one author in America comparable to Hawthorne in the field of the short story, and that was Edgar Allan Poe. He, too, suffered the same difficulties and disappointments in attempting to bring out his first collection—*Tales of the Folio Club*. That good literature in America had so small an audience, that the economic status of the writer was painfully low and inadequate, were conditions which, of course, in large measure explain the unhappy situation. Yet Hawthorne and Poe but experienced the same weary waiting, the same hopes deferred, that have been the lot of the young artist in every generation. The pursuit of beauty doubtless has its own rewards, but in that pursuit lurk bitterness and despair.

[151] *Passages From the American Notebooks*, pp. 222-223.

Caxton's *Blanchardin and Eglantine:*

Notes on the Leaf Preserved in The British Museum

By Curt F. Bühler

SEYMOUR de Ricci's *Census of Caxtons* (Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph No. XV, 1909) reveals that a single leaf of Caxton's *Blanchardin and Eglantine* (ca. 1489) is to be found in the British Museum. Its provenance is rather interesting. The leaf was originally included in the famous collection of specimen pages gathered together by John Bagford (1650-1716).[1] This collection was expressly formed by Bagford to serve as material for his proposed "History of Print-

[1] Robert Steele communicated John Bagford's own account of his Collections of Title-pages, etc. to: *The Library*, 2d Series, Volume VIII, pp. 223-224, 1907) taken from MS Harl. 5910, iii. 120 at the British Museum.

> ... For this twenty years last past I have made it my business to collect whatever I could procure relating to it [i.e., printing] with my observations on Several hundred of old Printed books, which very few have had the like opportunity of seeing, having been concerned in most of the great Libraries that have been sold by Auction since the year 1686, and few are insensible what benefit hath accrued to the world by the public sale of books by Auction, and printed Catalogues, an advantage the Learned World wanted in ages before (120[b]) and by this I have received no small knowledge in seeing the books themselves, and not trusting to other Eyes. Such has been the advantage in having opportunity in looking over such vast quantities of old books and not only in Sales but in the shop of my good friend Mr. Christopher Bateman, who at all times hath given me the liberty of looking over when he hath bought any parcels, and for his time he hath had more good and Valuable books pass through his hands than all the Booksellers in England. Besides, he always gave me notice when he had any waste books to sell and freely gave me Liberty to take out of them what I thought fit, as the blank leaves at the beginning of them, old pieces of MSS., Titles, Frontispieces, borders, Printers' devices, and by this civility hath very much added to my collection before mentioned, which I have put together in 20 Volumes in folio, Quarto and Octavo, so that I am inabled to shew the Titles of several hundreds of books printed in Holland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, and England, from the beginning of printing at Westminster by Caxton to the 16th Century, and not only their Devices, Titles, Great Letters, but Specimen[s] of most of the old Printers' letters they then used; and I am apt to think no one in Europe hath the like Collection.

ing" which, fortunately or unfortunately, was never published. In more than one hundred twenty-five volumes[2] he assembled an immense number of pages of early manuscripts, title-pages, specimen leaves of early printed books, printers' marks, illustrations — everything, in short, which he felt would prove of use to him in writing his account. On Bagford's death, the collection was acquired by Humphrey Wanley for Lord Harley and it thus passed into the British Museum with the purchase of the Harleian Manuscripts in 1753.

Although the existence of this leaf of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* has long been known, having been cited by Blades[3] and a portion of the text being reproduced on his Plate LIV, this fragment does not appear to have been carefully examined by the many students of Caxton's works through whose hands the leaf must have passed.[4] For more than half a century, the true significance of the leaf has escaped the notice of bibliographers despite the fact that even a hasty comparison of Blades's plate with the text of the copy now in the John Rylands Library (the only copy known, incomplete) would have brought to light several interesting facts.

First of all, though Blades stated that Plate LIV represented "Portion of Sig. L_{iij} recto," this is untrue; the text does not correspond to that found on L_3 recto of the Rylands copy according to the Early English Text Society's edition of this work (Extra Series LVIII, 1890, p. 185, line 16 to p. 186, line 18) but to that

[2] The following statement was made by A. W. Pollard in 1903: "In fairness, however, to Bagford, it must be stated that the collection as it now exists is only a shadow of its former self, nearly all the most valuable prints and complete printed documents in it having been removed and separately catalogued. Until a few years ago the whole collection was kept in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum but the volumes containing Printed Fragments have been separated and are now preserved in the Department of Printed Books, though still retaining their old Harleian pressmarks." (*A Rough List of the Contents of the Bagford Collection*, in: *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII, p. 143, 1902-1904).

[3] William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861-1863, II, p. 217.

[4] Among those who presumably must have examined the leaf in connection with their bibliographical references to it were: Blades, De Ricci, Fletcher, Pollard, Robert Proctor, Gordon Duff, etc.

reproduced in the modern print on p. 191, line 31 to p. 193, line 2.

Secondly, though these texts correspond closely, it is readily apparent on careful comparison that the leaf in the British Museum was printed from a different setting of type than was used for that in the Rylands copy. Unfortunately, the Rylands copy of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* has been removed to a place of safekeeping so that an actual comparison by means of photostats has been impossible. In view of the general excellence of the EETS publications, I believe that the use of this edition will be sufficiently satisfactory for the purposes of this paper.

In more recent years, the inclusion of the recto and verso of the Museum's leaf of this Caxton among the microfilm copies of early English books being issued by University Microfilms (Case 3, No. 17) has made an accurate reproduction of this text available in many libraries. By means of the microfilm, one can see that Blades has reproduced the text of the verso, *not* that of the recto, of this leaf. The recto is plainly marked L_{iij} and this page corresponds in general with that of the Rylands copy, though here too there are numerous divergencies from the text as printed by Dr. Leon Kellner for the EETS. These differences, it is true, are of a very minor sort; in illustration of this, two examples may be cited:

Recto

(Film, l. 1): and euyl wylle to my lord
(EETS, 185/16): and euyll wylle to my lorde

(Film, l. 10): grete worshyp & good prosperyte
(EETS, 185/26): grete worship & goode prosperyte

Similar variants may be recorded for the verso:

(Plate, l. 4): Blanchardyn cam saylyng
(EETS, 191/35): Blanchardyn came sailynge

(Plate, l. 7): as ye shal vnderstande
(EETS, 192/3): as ye shall vnderstond

Virtually every line, both recto and verso, shows differences of this sort between the Rylands copy and the British Museum leaf; clearly, therefore, they were printed from different formes.

There is one further point to be noted, namely that, though the text of the recto of the leaf corresponds to that found on the same leaf in the Rylands copy, the text on the verso of the former is entirely different from that found on the verso of the latter. The verso of the single leaf, as we have seen, contains the text printed on p. 191, line 31 to p. 193, line 2 of the modern edition, while the verso in the Rylands copy has the text as printed by the EETS (p. 186, line 18 et seq.). I have every reason to believe, from a study of the EETS edition,[5] that the text on the verso of the British Museum leaf corresponds to that found on signature L_6 recto in the Rylands copy. It now becomes perfectly self-evident that the Museum's leaf of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* is a cancel and that it was cancelled by Caxton because he had imposed the text incorrectly in the course of printing this sheet.

Though the British Museum fragment consists of only half of the original sheet and we have no means of knowing with absolute certainty what the other half contained, one can deduce with some degree of assurance how the error of imposition arose. The identical error of imposition found in the third sheet of quire O of Caxton's *Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye* (printed at about the same time)[6] tends to confirm the present hypothesis.[7]

[5] Although the EETS edition only indicates where the signatures occur in the original, it is quite possible to make a rough approximation of the contents of the several leaves in quire L. A count taken for each signature indicates that the text found on a leaf of the original occupies some 70-72 lines in the modern edition; consequently each Caxton page is represented by 35-36 lines in the reprint. Between the last line of L_4 recto as noted in the EETS edition (188/23) and the first line of the verso of the Museum leaf (191/31), there are 107 printed lines of text, or the equivalent of three pages of the Caxton edition. This accounts for the contents of L_4 verso, L_5 recto and verso; the text on the verso of the British Museum leaf can, therefore, be confidently assumed to represent L_6 recto.

[6] See the notes by A. T. P. Byles in the Early English Text Society's edition, Original Series 189, 1937, pp. xxx and xxxi (also note 1), and 229, note 4.

[7] Compare also with Henry Bradshaw's *Notice of a Fragment of the Fifteen Oes and other Prayers printed at Westminster by W. Caxton about 1490-91, preserved in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol.* (In his: *Collected Papers*, Cambridge, University Press, 1889. Pp. 341-349).

The quire L of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* consists of four folio sheets; the outer forme for the printing of the third sheet would have contained the text for L_3 recto—L_6 verso, the inner forme that for L_3 verso—L_6 recto. The type for the pages of the inner forme would, of course, have been placed side by side on the press. In this case, Caxton accidentally transposed the pages so that, when the sheet had been completely printed, the third page backed the first and the second (probably) took the place of the third.[8] Since it was impossible by any means of folding the sheet to rectify this error, Caxton was obliged to cancel all the leaves represented by the British Museum example.

The fact that leaf L_3 of the Rylands copy of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* was printed from a different setting of type than that used for the British Museum fragment indicates that the error of imposition was discovered by Caxton only after the necessary number of sheets for this quire had been printed and the type for it had already been distributed. If Caxton had discovered the error while the printing was still in progress, he could easily have stopped the press, corrected the imposition of the pages and then have run off as many copies as he needed with the same setting of type. That he did not do so seems to be clear evidence that the type for these pages was no longer standing but had been distributed.[9] Caxton was thus obliged to reset the pages, incidentally making a number of minor corrections in the course of doing so.[10] The single leaf, it is clear, represents an earlier (and incorrect) setting of type than that found in the Rylands copy.

[8] That is L_6 recto would appear on the verso of L_3 (as is actually the case here) and L_3 verso would appear on the recto of L_6.

[9] The early printers were compelled, because of their scant supply of type, to distribute the formes at the earliest possible moment. It was apparently usual for the printer to distribute as soon as the printing was completed in order that the type might then be immediately available for setting the text of the next quire. For further notes see my paper *Variants in English Incunabula*, in: *Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written and Gathered in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg*, New York, 1943, p. 463.

[10] For example in line 6 of Plate LIV we find "enmyes" which in the Rylands copy has been corrected to "enmye." Again in line 8 we read in the Plate "Here folowed" while Rylands correctly has "Here foloweth."

The leaf of *Blanchardin and Eglantine* now in the British Museum is, then, nothing more than printer's waste, which in all probability never formed part of an actual book. No one can therefore, be accused in this instance of impairing an early printed book for the sake of obtaining a single specimen leaf of early English printing.

The Authors of this Issue

A. H. Greenly, Chairman of The Official Classification Committee, a body appointed by the eastern railroads, has long been a collector of historical material, with emphasis on Michigan. He presented his Abraham Lincoln collection to the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Nelson F. Adkins, assistant professor of English, New York University, is the author of *Fitz-Greene Halleck: An Early Knickerbocker Wit and Poet* (New Haven, 1930), and other important contributions to the study of American literature.

Dr. Curt F. Bühler is in charge of fifteenth-century books at The Pierpont Morgan Library. He has contributed previously to the Papers.

Bibliographical Notes

Two Undescribed Incunabula

JUSTINIANO, LEONARDO. Sonetti d'amore. El desperato. [Rome: Johann Besicken, c. 1500]. 4°.

6 leaves. Sig.: a^6. 2 columns. 35 lines. Types: 1.87G and 8:106G. Woodcuts: on folio 1^a, a cut (84x84 mm.) representing a young man serenading with a mandolin before his lady's window; on 3^b, a cut (84 x 84 mm.) showing a youth and a maiden standing in a garden, with the lady caressing her lover's cheek with her left hand.

1^a [Title]: ¶Sonetti damore. ¶ El desperato. | ¶ Questi sonetti scrisse con so mano | in proposto di ciascū amatore il nobil | misser Leonardo iustiniano. | [Woodcut]. 1^b, col. 1: (A^2) Mor si vuol che nouamente canti | tante la pena che sento al cor mio | . . . 3^a, col. 1, line 23: e poi piangendo dico lassa omene | questo mauanza de tutto il mio bene | Finis. | 3^b: ¶ El desperato per amore. | [Woodcut]. 4^a, col. 1: (D^2) oglia mafrena crudelta mi fforza | con tāta passion che piu nō passo | . . . 5^b, col. 2, line 16: E se alcun̄altro ilmio fin crudo irascie | responde e digli facendo mia scusa | e cosi va chi suenturato nascie | Finis. | 6, blank.

The woodcuts are reproduced in the *E. P. Goldschmidt Catalogue* 46, pp. 31 and 55. A crude copy of the first woodcut appears in the edition of this work printed by J. Antonio "da paui" at Palermo, c. 1515; it is reproduced in Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien*, VI, fig. 843.

Another copy appears to exist in the Escorial Library, Sign. 425.

Bound in brown morocco by Sangorski and Sutcliffe.

Second Census, J455; *Morgan Check List* 715.

STRAMBOTTI D'OGNI SORTE E SONETTI ALLA BERGAMASCA. [Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. 1500]. 4°.

6 leaves. Sig.: a^6. 2 columns. 35 lines. Types: 8:84R and 4:109R. Woodcut: on folio 1^a, a cut (84 x 84 mm.) showing a youth and a maiden standing in a garden, with the lady caressing her lover's cheek with her left hand.

1^a [Title]: Strambotti dogni sorte: & Sonetti alla- | bergamasca gentilissimi da canta | re insu Liuti & uariati stor | menti. | [Woodcut]. 1^b, blank. 2^a, col. 1: (P^2) rīa chi die ṗncipio a mie strābotte | mille salute al auditor io mando | . . . 4^b, col.

2, line 24: Sonetti alla barghamesca | Togno eto uoluto ben za piu dunan | & si no me ma habut compassio | . . . 6ª, col. 2, line 23: hor eccho elfin del mio corso fatale | questo per contentarti ingrata uale | FINIS. | 6ᵇ, blank.

The woodcut is the same as the second one in the Justiniano, though here it shows greater signs of wear. This edition is not the same as that described by Reichling (no. 742) and it does not correspond to the one noted in the Rothschild Catalogue (no. 1029).

Bound in brown morocco by Sangorski and Sutcliffe.

Second Census, S709; *Morgan Check List* 698.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Americana

MATHER, COTTON. Corderius Americanus. . . . Boston, 1828. Holmes, no. 75-C (v. 1, p. 192).

Mount Holyoke College Library has a copy, corresponding to copies described in AAS, *except* that Mount Holyoke copy has both the green paper covers and the facsimile frontispiece of Cheever's ms. The copy is entirely uncut and untrimmed, and measures 9⅝″ in height (Holmes says 9⅜″).

ROBERT W. CHRIST

English Book, 1808-1812

POEMS | By | S. T. Coleridge, Esq.

Such is the simple title page of a sixteen-page pamphlet, gray-green wrappers, pages trimmed, which was printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, London. The name of the printers occurs twice: on the verso of the title-page and at the end of the text on page 16. The pamphlet contains three poems in the following order: *Fears in Solitude*; *France, an Ode*; and *Frost at Midnight*. *France, an Ode* had been first published in the *Morning Post*, April 16, 1798; the other two had first appeared in the quarto of 1798 entitled *Fears in Solitude* | *Written in 1798, During the Alarm of an Invasion* | *To which are added,* | *France, an Ode*; | *and* | *Frost at Midnight*. In the Law and Gilbert pamphlet the text of *France, an Ode* is identical with that of the 1798 issue, *Fears in Solitude* shows some revision of lines, and *Frost at Midnight* is very greatly changed.[1] In the last the text is expanded four lines after line 19, there are many revisions in phrasing throughout the poem, and the last six lines are omitted. This pamphlet is said to be of the "utmost rarity" and little known to collectors.

[1] McCarthy, Denis F. *Unnoted Variations in the Text of Coleridge* in: *Athenaeum*, July 28, 1877, pp. 112-113.

No publication date is given, but there have been many attempts at dating, with the result that we find such a range of assignments as 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1812. Had the bibliographers and dealers in rare books followed Coleridge's example of studying what had previously been said on a subject before making a new statement, some repetition of error might have been saved.

The descriptions of the little volume show considerable variation. When Colonel Prideaux "revised, corrected, and enlarged" Richard Herne Shepherd's *The Bibliography of Coleridge* (1900), he gave the date as 1798 and ventured the sparse description, "It seems to have been privately printed." Probably this date was first assigned because of the quarto edition of the three poems in that year; but the quarto was printed for J. Johnson of St. Paul's Churchyard and is an entirely different edition. In 1902 Colonel Prideaux wrote to *Notes and Queries*[2] giving an account of the relation of the pamphlet to the poems as they appear in the *Poetical Register and Repository for Fugitive Poetry* for 1808-1809, Vol. 7, which was not published, however, until 1812. He suggested that the pamphlet was a "*tirage-à-part* from the *Poetical Register*," and therefore he arrived at the date, 1812.

The phrase *tirage-à-part* caught the fancy of subsequent bibliographers and recurs in John Louis Haney, *A Coleridge Bibliography* (1903), and in T. J. Wise, *A Coleridge Bibliography* (1913). Haney points out that the pamphlet was "formerly regarded as a private reprint," but concludes that it is really made up of pages from the *Poetical Register* bound together.[3] Wise reverses this conclusion, saying: "It was at one time regarded as a mere *tirage-à-part* from the pages of *The Poetical Register*, but a careful examination and comparison of the two has resulted in a recognition of the fact that the Pamphlet is no mere offprint, but that (though the same fount was employed both for it and for *The Poetical Register*) the types were entirely reset, and some by no means unimportant changes were introduced into the text. It is highly probable that it was in consequence of the introduction of the new readings into the text of his poems that the present pamphlet was privately printed at the Poet's particular desire."[4] This description was not changed when Wise published *Two Lake Poets* in 1927, and indeed he made a cross-reference to the earlier description.

Editors of Coleridge throw little additional light on what the pamphlet really is. Dykes Campbell quotes the footnote to *Frost at Midnight* from page 580 of the *Poetical Register*, Vol. 7: "This poem, which was first published with *Fears in Solitude* and *France, an Ode*, has been since enlarged and corrected, and, with other poems, is now inserted in the *Poetical Register* by the kind permission of Mr. Coleridge."[5] Campbell adds, "A few copies of the three poems were struck

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, Vol. X: 312 (Oct., 1902).

[3] "Periodical Contribution," No. 81, p. 47. Cf. p. 8.

[4] See p. 56.

[5] Coleridge's *Poetical Works*, p. 609.

off separately from the *P. R.* type." He refers to McCarthy's article and notes the major variants, though he does not give a full collation. Ernest Hartley Coleridge in editing Coleridge's *Poems* (1912) gives a full collation although not an entirely accurate one, but he does not refer to McCarthy's earlier work. He, too, points out that the type is the same in both the pamphlet and the *Poetical Register*, and adds, "But the poems were set up and reprinted as a distinct issue. There is no record of the transaction, or evidence that the pamphlet was placed on the market."[6] He gives the date as 1812 with a question mark.

Dealers in rare books have perpetuated the earlier dating. Although John Pearson knew Wise and quoted a part of his description of the pamphlet in listing it in *A Catalogue of a Unique Coleridge Collection* (1913), he held to 1798 as the date of publication. When the item occurs in the *Book Auction Record* or in *American Book Prices Current*, it is generally dated 1798.

It is possible to add a little information concerning this pamphlet by re-examining the text in relation to the text as it appears in the *Poetical Register*. Since the number of lines to the page differs in *Frost at Midnight* in the two publications, it is immediately obvious that the pamphlet is not a *tirage-à-part* with identical set-up, as indicated by Colonel Prideaux, nor can it consist of leaves of the *Poetical Register* bound up separately, as suggested by Haney. Furthermore, it does not incorporate "some by no means unimportant changes" in the text as Wise states, but the two texts are identical. It is only the accommodation of the four-line note quoted above from the *Poetical Register* which causes any variation: five more lines of text appear on the first page of the poem as it stands in the pamphlet than on the corresponding page in the *Poetical Register*; one line on the second page of the poem is divided in the pamphlet and printed solid in the *Poetical Register*, with the result that the number of lines on these two pages differs by only three; the third page of the poem in the pamphlet is necessarily, therefore, three lines shorter than that in the *Poetical Register*.

One gains further information by examining the changes in the personnel of the printing firm for the *Poetical Register*. When the *Poetical Register* was established, the printing was done by Deodatus Bye and Henry Law, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, for Charles and Francis Rivington,[7] St. Paul's Churchyard. This printing firm had been established by John Rivington, the younger brother of Charles and Francis; and upon his death in 1785, his widow carried on the business, taking Deodatus Bye into the firm. Bye then took in Henry Law, son of the bookseller Bedwell Law; and the *Poetical Register* was printed by Bye and Law through the second edition of Vol. 4 for 1804, which appeared in 1806. When the second edition of Vol. 5 came out in 1807, the printing was done by

[6] Vol. II, p. 1149.

[7] In 1810 the eldest son of Francis, another John Rivington, was admitted into the partnership; Vol. 6 of the *Poetical Register* and subsequent volumes are "Printed for F., C., and J. Rivington."

Law and Gilbert, Robert Gilbert having succeeded Bye.[8] Since the pamphlet of *Poems* was printed by Law and Gilbert, dates assigned to it before 1807 are obviously impossible. It is also evident that the pamphlet was not printed for a bookseller, for the Law and Gilbert signature always includes "Printed for" followed by the name of the bookseller, as well as "By Law and Gilbert."

The footnote statement that *Frost at Midnight* "has been since enlarged and corrected, and with the other poems, is now inserted in the *Poetical Register*" seems to indicate that Coleridge had made the revisions noted in two of the poems preparatory to their publication here. As the Editor explains,[9] the department of *Fugitive Poetry* is for the purpose of preserving poems "which from the mode and form of their first appearance, or from peculiar circumstances, had become extremely scarce, and would soon, in all probability, have been no longer procurable." It provided Coleridge with a wide audience, for the *Poetical Register* was popular, and he seems to have been glad to avail himself of this medium of publication. Fourteen of his poems appear, beginning with the second volume, 1802. Expecting the three poems to appear in 1808 or 1809, Coleridge had a long wait, for the volume with the material for the two years did not come out until 1812. Apologies were prefixed to the volumes when the delay became a matter of months: the Editor had been "indisposed," or "unavoidable circumstances" had delayed the publication. The excuse became, "Circumstances, which it is not necessary to state" in the volume for 1806-1807, not published until 1811, and thereafter no excuse is made. The Editor was R. A. Davenport, whose unfortunate use of laudanum may have been the cause of these delays. It is possible that during the long delay of Vol. 7, Coleridge had Law and Gilbert print a few copies of these poems, particularly on account of the new version of *Frost at Midnight*. Private printing was characteristic of Coleridge and had been practiced, for example, in the case of the Bristol addresses and the twenty-eight *Selected Sonnets*, when he had arranged for copies to be run off for distribution to his friends. At least two of the very scarce copies of *Poems* are known to be gifts: the one to Southey is now among the pamphlets from Southey's library in the Forster Collection at the South Kensington Museum,[10] and the one inscribed,

[8] Deodatus Bye must have retired sometime between the publication of the two volumes. In a note concerning him in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1816, Vol. 86, p. 147, note, we learn that "satisfied with a moderate independence he has for some time exchanged the fatigues of business for the enjoyment of domestic ease" and is residing at Peckham. From some verses that he wrote the following year, we learn that he is 74 years old. See *Gentlemen's Magazine*, May, 1817, Vol. 87, p. 445. See another account of Bye, Feb., 1826, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 96, pp. 181-182. Also consult C. H. Timperley, *Dictionary of Printers and Printing*, London, 1839.

[9] "Advertisement" to the third edition of Vol. 1 ,1815, p. vii.

[10] *Forster Collection: A Catalogue of the Paintings, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Pamphlets*, etc., London, 1893, Part III, p. 110.

"W. Hood, Esq., from his obliged Friend S. T. Coleridge" was formerly in the Locker-Lampson Library.[11]

There are some other clues to indicate that the pamphlet may have preceded the publication in 1812 of Vol. 7 of the *Poetical Register*. From the introductory "Advertisements" we learn that materials for the next volume were sometimes already printed before the preceding volume appeared. In the "Advertisement" of Vol. 4 for 1804 the Editor says the volume for 1805 is "now in a state of preparation" and adds that "a part of it is already in the press." In the "Advertisement" of Vol. 5 he says concerning Vol. 6, "A considerable portion of it, nearly the whole of the Fugitive Poetry, is at this moment printed." Since Vol. 6 was not published until 1811, the Fugitive Poetry section was in print for five years before the volume was published. In the light of the above statements the comment in the "Advertisement" of Vol. 6 that the Editor "is now preparing for the press" the materials for Vol. 7, assumes greater significance. It may well mean that a part of the material was already in print. The changes in the set-up of *Frost at Midnight*, the use of the same type as for the *Poetical Register*, and the trimmed pages may point as well to a time preceding the publication of the *Poetical Register* as to a time following it. Since there seems to be no positive evidence upon which to establish the sequence of the two publications, we are left with a range in dating the pamphlet from 1808-1809, the anticipated time for Law and Gilbert's Vol. 7 of the *Poetical Register*, to 1812, when it was published. The situation, however, is better defined than that which allows a fourteen-year range, and in addition the earliest possible date is now established upon fact, with the result that the dates of 1798, 1799, and 1800 are proved erroneous.

R. Florence Brinkley

Modern Literature

Lewis, Sinclair (1885-). The Innocents, 1917.

Four variant bindings in addition to the gray cloth, gilt-stamped, called for in Harvey Taylor's bibliography (1933) are known to me:

(a) Light green cloth, stamped in black, with the title at the top and the author's name at the bottom of the front cover; on the spine, the title at the top, author's name in the center, and publisher's name at the bottom. The collation differs from Taylor in that four titles, not five, are listed on the verso of the half-title and there is no frontispiece. This was purchased from an English dealer and the publisher suggests that the sheets were sent to England and bound there. Copy (b), however, has no foreign associations and is lettered in a matching man-

[11] This copy reappeared in the catalogue of the James B. Clemens Library sold January 8, 9, 1945 by the Parke-Bernet Galleries where it is dated 1812. See p. 49.

ner. This binding was noted in *Bibliographical Notes and Queries*, volume 2, number 12, item 328.

(b) Buff boards, black-stamped, with the same arrangement of cover and spine as copy (a). The collation agrees with Taylor except for the listing of only four titles on the verso of the half-title. A similar copy was sold in the H. Bertram Smith sale (1941) and was considered by Mr. Taylor as "evidently a pre-publication issue . . . Perhaps it was sent to booksellers or used as a trial copy by the publishers."

(c) Yellow-tan cloth, black-stamped in the same manner as copies (a) and (b) and with a collation like copy (b). This copy contains the label of a bookseller in Sussex, New Brunswick.

(d) Buff boards, blue cloth back, black-stamped. The front cover bears only a laurel spray; on the spine there is a smaller, similar decoration between the title and the author's name forming a group at the top and the author's name is at the foot. The collation is the same as copy (b).

The gray cloth, gilt-stamped, described by Taylor, has a tea-pot between the title and author's name on the spine and on the front cover the author's name is immediately below the title at the top.

James K. Dickson

Book Reviews

WISE, THOMAS J. *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn: Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth-Century Forgers.* Edited by Fannie E. Ratchford. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, xiv, 591, [xvii]. Frontispiece, Portraits, Facsimiles, 10½ x 6½ inches. $7.50.

Since the publication in 1934 of John Carter and Graham Pollard's *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth-Century Pamphlets*, the literature concerning what have come to be generally termed "Wise forgeries" has grown to such an extent that it is now something of a chore to check the additions made by Roland Baughman and others to the original list. It would, in fact, be a considerable boon to collectors, booksellers and librarians if someone would prepare in tabular form a list of all the proved and suspected pieces, with references to where fuller treatment can be found and points to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine in the case of that type of forgery. Perhaps, however, this list should be postponed until it is possible for the British Museum to issue an official report, or permit some competent person to examine the Ashley books.

This latest addition to the *Enquiry* will be read with profit by all those who have followed the subject as it has been discussed in print and conversation during the past decade, for it reveals not only what sort of man T. J. Wise was but also much about his methods of selling his forgeries and collecting his amazing books, all of which gives colour and credibility to a tale that hitherto has been dominated by a villain who seemed hardly human. To such a reader, as also perhaps to one who relishes a diet of booksellers' catalogues, nearly six hundred pages and necessarily somewhat repetitious subject matter and ponderous epistolary style will be no obstacle. Indeed, it will be read by such a one for mingled reasons with avidity, if not with pleasure. First, because, with present hindsight, the elaborate structure of lies with which the sale of the forgeries was conducted seems so fragile that one is constantly awaiting its exposure or at least its interrogation on the next page, and, second, because the volume is filled with bookish talk. This "chatter," as Wise calls it himself, is not really of the best quality, but then a bookman can never have enough such talk and like a detective-story dev-

otee must frequently be content with the second-rate. The gossip is often misinformed, as is indeed the way of gossip, bookish or any other — the buyers named, the sums paid, etc., are often wide of the mark. But then one hears of the first lot of the Mostyn plays in their original bindings, just as Halliwell-Phillipps saw them in 1870, several months before their sale was announced, and one shares in the excitement that was Wise's, or one participates in the tension of an auction where, if prizes are obtained, the better ones inevitably go to T. J. W.

In the portion of the correspondence here printed Mr. Wise makes a very sorry showing as a bibliographer, although he is quick enough to find fault with the work of others and is forever talking about bibliography as an "exact science." Perhaps, however, he is talking down to his correspondent who seems rarely to have looked at the books in question or to have been familiar with the reference tools then published, or even with what was commonly contained in the catalogues of such booksellers as Quaritch and Tregaskis at that time. For example, Wise gives in several letters a garbled account of the preliminary leaves of *Paradise Lost* and claims to have discovered the setting of the "Argument" without the "Address" at the head, and yet that setting is correctly described in Quaritch catalogues anterior to the date of Wise's letter.

Mr. Wise is reported to have said that his connection with Mr. Wrenn was worth a thousand pounds a year to him, and from what can be discerned between the lines of these letters that seems a moderate estimate. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to regard them as the letters of a bookseller to his client. As such they are models of what they should not be, though here and there are to be found sound passages, for had Mr. Wrenn ever bothered to read over the letters, or even to read the current ones with attention, he must have realized that there was something wrong, for, granted that his "friend" Wise did not wish to make money out of these transactions, there was no particular reason why other booksellers should always be willing to sell the "best" books out of their offerings for only ten per cent profit, and it might have seemed odd at least that so frequently the "libraries" which turned up in the provinces contained only books needed in either the Wise or Wrenn collections. Because so many of the books and prices discussed are "lotted" it is perhaps dangerous to make any statements concerning them, but a glance at contemporary catalogues indicates that the prices charged were often very high. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suppose that when this library was purchased for the University of Texas it was worth the sum then paid and is now worth considerably more.

However, one cannot help thinking how much better Mr. Wrenn would have done with the same expenditure had he either placed himself in the hands of an honest and able bookseller, or applied himself to the not inconsiderable task of learning about the books which he wished to collect.

The letters here printed are prefaced by a discourse entitled *A Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth-Century Forgers* which can hardly be properly reviewed in the space available here. To this reader, the indictment of Sir Edmund Gosse appears to be the author's most important point but the evidence proffered is not convincing. The paleographical evidence is, to say the least, feeble and the letter to J. R. Burton, which at first seems of great weight, on further examination loses much of its force, for had Sir Edmund been conscious of guilt in connection with the forged publication of the Reading *Sonnets*, or even aware that he had been used as a tool in their publication, he could hardly have failed to recheck what it was he had originally written and published concerning them before answering Mr. Burton in the vain, though to Miss Ratchford incriminating, fashion which he did.

The letters which Miss Ratchford has chosen to publish appear to cover more than adequately the subject of the sales of the forgeries to Wrenn but, to this reviewer at least, frequently the most interesting part of the correspondence dealt with books and bookish matters which had no relation to the forgeries, and his fingers fairly ached to annotate the references to books and manuscripts now scattered throughout the libraries of this country. The editor appears to have altered the text to eliminate the names of booksellers concerning whom Wise made unflattering remarks, as, for instance, on p. 229 where "Mr. X" appears instead of Pickering and Chatto and on p. 532 where "Mr. Blank" obviously refers to Walter Spencer. This, of course, is entirely within her rights as editor, but it would perhaps have been more sporting had she somewhere stated that she was so altering the text and also that "X" or "Y" does not always refer to the same bookseller.

WILLIAM A. JACKSON

RIDER, FREMONT. *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library.* By Fremont Rider. New York: Hadham Press, 1944. xiii, 336 pp. Frontispiece. 9½ x 6½ inches. Price $4.00.

It will hardly come as news to most scholars that research libraries are confronted with a rather substantial number of extremely difficult prob-

lems. Perhaps the most recurrently evident of them is that resulting from the attempt to house an apparently limitless number of books within the finite walls of ordinary buildings. Secondly, the directors of research libraries have been so successful in acquiring large book collections with the funds and facilities at their disposal, that, in order to make known what they have, the very tools with which to index and list the material are reaching stages of such complexity as to be difficult to use even by the well informed. The costs of these tools, in turn, are requiring an increasingly high percentage of the libraries' available funds. Finally, it is evident that the world of research publication is expanding more rapidly than the funds and physical capacity of research institutions. Consequently selectivity and deliberate or inadvertent omission are becoming increasingly extensive in an attempt to spread the available resources over the area presumed to be of maximum utility to the institution. This procedure, while virtuous in eliminating much that may never be desired by the libraries' patrons, must also, of course, result in omissions of material that will be seriously needed.

To meet various aspects of some or all of these problems, many proposals have been made at one time or another; and of these proposals a fair proportion have been tried. By way of example there are the warehouse storage pool, the selective "weeding" of collections, coöperative cataloguing, classed catalogues, regionally-planned selective acquisition, inter-library loans, duplicate exchanges, special classification schemes, and many more. These plans almost invariably have meritorious features, and almost as often certain disadvantages. Not one of them may be said to be very radical or basic in approach. They do not cure the patient, but serve merely to alleviate some of his pains. The problems are of such severity and suitable solutions are of such great importance to scholarship, that an increasing amount of attention must be devoted to them by librarians and the scholars whom they serve, or it is clear that unsatisfactory procedures may be forced upon libraries without the benefit of professional assistance.

Mr. Rider's book, divided into two parts, the problem and the solution, discloses with great clarity and effectiveness "the problem" with particular emphasis upon: (1) the growth of American research libraries (active university libraries have shown a doubling in the size of their collections approximately every sixteen years); (2) the costs of acquisition, preparation, and storage; (3) the fixed-size or perpetually "weeded" library, methods of storage, and inter-library coöperation.

To answer the problem, or problems, the larger half of the book is devoted to a proposed solution. In its bare outline, Mr. Rider proposes that a

group of research libraries arrange to make and offer for subscription sale to other research libraries micro-cards of near-current and older research materials with selected subject fields divided among individual libraries. The micro-cards, 3″ x 5″, will have photographically printed on one side from 200 to 250 pages of the original book and on the other a catalogue card already carrying all the entries for that particular title. As many cards as necessary would be made to produce the full text. It is proposed that two copies of the original be made available for photographing, that they be cut from their bindings, and all the pages spread out in the order which would permit a single exposure for all 250 pages. The originals used for reproduction would be discarded.

The micro-card of the book, thus combined with a catalogue card, would be issued in a set of three copies to each subscribing library. A copy of the card set would be filed in separate catalogues according to entry, e.g., author, subject, and title. Thus wherever one found a card, one would also find the "book." Wherever an added entry was necessary an ordinary typed card would be made for the purpose that would, of course, lack the micro-text. The original entries would be shown by widespread indentation on different lines in boldly different typography, and in the plan outlined would be limited to three.

Rather detailed analyses are presented of cataloguing procedures and related processes as affected by the micro-card system, and an extremely interesting proposal is made for preparing single analytical entries on micro-cards of periodical literature, though the copyright implications of the latter procedure are apt to make it difficult or impossible. There are further details on methods of organization, distribution, and control that should preferably be read in the complete text.

Mr. Rider's detailed and ardent study is inevitably stimulating to everyone interested in the problems of research libraries. There is much that is controversial. Even the constructively critical can without great difficulty find points from which to attack the soundness of the plan.

As an illustration, much of the current expense (cataloguing, acquisition, and binding) and expanding bulk in research libraries results from contemporary publications in which copyright laws or ethics would be deeply involved in any major reproductive program of the type outlined. It is proposed that this problem be avoided by reproducing materials on which copyright has expired or on which it has never existed. But it is obvious that vast quantities of this latter type of material are already held in many research libraries, and have therefore already been bought, bound, and cata-

logued so that many of the benefits of the basic plan are diminished to at least some extent in connection with such material.

There are also a few technical problems and limitations that are either not disclosed by the author or treated very briefly, and if the reviewer may judge by a number of inquiries and comments coming from various readers, perhaps the most serious criticism that may be directed against the book is the implication in its presentation that the plan can be made effective, both organizationally and technically, at once. One librarian is known to have declined to subscribe to an important newspaper file in microfilm form, badly wanted by his library, because it "was expected that the microfilm file would soon be made obsolete by a micro-card reproduction of the file." While he may be right, such a development, especially for newspapers, hardly seems imminent. But few books outlining such drastic departures from long established techniques (library, not microfilm) could escape such criticism.

On the other hand, some technical problems (it is technically feasible, for example, to prepare a flat sheet reproduction of an original from a *single* copy of the work without damaging it) are really easier of attainment than indicated.

But whatever one may think of the entire micro-card plan as outlined, it would be exceedingly shortsighted not to recognize that Mr. Fremont Rider has (a) described with striking effectiveness, either directly or by implication, the major problems faced by modern research libraries; (b) constructively criticised many current library techniques and offered valuable suggestions; (c) presented a plan that, while it does not answer in many ways the major problems of contemporary libraries, and has at least a few inherent and serious defects, certainly is broader in vision and attempted scope than any other plan now known to the profession. Libraries and librarians interested in the welfare of their institutions and that of scholarship in general will study the book with great earnestness for it may truly be said that at stake is "the scholar and the future of the research library."

HERMAN H. FUSSLER

1. ESTADOS UNIDOS DE VENEZUELA. BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, CARACAS. *Anuario bibliográfico venezolano, 1942*. Caracas, Tipografía americana, 1944. xvi, 227 p. 9½ inches.

2. ESTADOS UNIDOS DE VENEZUELA. BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, CARACAS. *Catálogo de la exposición de libros bolivarianos organizada con motivo del cen-*

tenario del traslado de los restos del Libertador a Caracas, 16 de diciembre de 1942 — 20 de enero de 1943. Caracas, C. A. Artes gráficas, 1943. 237 p. 11 inches.

Due to the energy and initiative of its director, Señor Enrique Planchart, the National Library of Venezuela at Caracas has made two very considerable contributions to the whole picture of Latin-American national bibliography.

In the first place, we may mention the exceedingly well-prepared catalogue of the exhibit of books relating to Bolívar, held from December 16, 1942, to January 20, 1943, as a part of the centenary celebration of the transfer of the remains of the South American Liberator to Caracas. A presidential decree of October 28, 1942, had authorized the holding of the exhibit. In the short space of time elapsing before the opening of the exhibit on December 16th, fifteen hundred and forty-six items had been assembled from the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional itself, from those of the Academia Nacional de la Historia and of the Casa Natal de la Libertador. Included are only a few of the original contemporary editions of the writings, pronouncements and state papers of Simón Bolívar, these being of great rarity. Periodical publications have for the most part been excluded except for extraordinary and special numbers devoted to the Liberator. The arrangement is alphabetical by author, with abundant cross-references, and with an index to titles at the end. The entries are well made, and the descriptions very concise. Indeed, it would seem to be one of the best recent book exhibit catalogues issued in Latin America.

The other work, the Venezuelan bibliographical annual for 1942, represents an even more substantial and continuing contribution to national bibliography in Latin America. This *Anuario bibliográfico venezolano, 1942*, likewise had its origin in the celebration of the centenary of the transfer of the remains of Simón Bolívar to Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. A presidential decree of October 28, 1942, provides for the publication of a general *Bibliografía venezolano* to include all books and pamphlets published in Venezuela, those edited by Venezuelans in foreign countries, and foreign works which in whole or in part refer to Venezuelan personalities or affairs. The National Library was entrusted with the preparation and publication of this general retrospective national bibliography. As a current supplement to the *Bibliografía venezolana*, the *Anuario bibliográfico venezolano* was authorized on the same lines as the retrospective work to include the publications issued in the course of each year.

The first volume of the *Anuario* for 1942 describes about five hundred

books and pamphlets printed in Venezuela, about two hundred and seventy-five newspapers and periodicals current in Venezuela, some three hundred foreign publications relative to Venezuela, Venezuelan personalities and affairs, and about one hundred and fifty foreign periodicals containing articles on Venezuela. At the end there is an index to all publishers and printers, and finally a consolidated alphabetical index to authors, titles and subjects.

In each section, the arrangement is alphabetical by author, title or corporate heading. Descriptions of the items are adequate but concise, and rather frequently include references to reviews. For the Venezuelan books, the endeavor has been to include everything so far as possible. In accordance with a "Resolución Oficial" of August 4, 1894 publishers, printers and authors in Venezuela are required to furnish in duplicate to the National Library copies of all publications printed in that country. Although the deposit at the National Library has been the basis of the *Anuario*, every effort seems to have been made to search for items not deposited. In addition to books and pamphlets published commercially, the annual includes university theses, public documents (national, state and local), the publications of trade, professional, welfare and cultural organizations, company reports, mimeographed materials, etc. Apparently an attempt is made to include sheet music and maps.

Subsequent volumes of this current national bibliography as well as the eventual publication of the general Venezuelan bibliography will be awaited with much interest.

James B. Childs

Gorges, Raymond. *The Story of a Family Through Eleven Centuries: Illustrated by Portraits and Pedigrees being a History of the Family of Gorges*, by Raymond Gorges. Based on Material Prepared by the Rev. Frederick Brown, F.S.A. Boston, Privately Printed, 1944. xxiv, 289 pp. 9 x 11¾ inches.

Much of England's history is to be found in that of its families. The records of most of them have long been lost to posterity. A few of the more illustrious have received the doubtful blessing of the labors of a family historian. And now the annals of the eminent family of Gorges have been magnificently preserved by one of the last of its sons, Mr. Raymond Gorges of Newport, Rhode Island.

This book has been sumptuously produced by the Merrymount Press of

Boston. It is printed in a beautiful type on paper exceptionally fine as measured by pre-war standards and is graced with over fifty illustrations. Many are full page and several are in color; all are photographs, some of tombs and brasses, others of manuscripts and manor houses, but most of family worthies and beauties. By themselves these are invaluable records of the Gorges which the historian has fitted into the frame of his enlightning and entertaining narrative.

Mr. Gorges has given his work the title of *The Story of a Family through Eleven Centuries*. But he begins his introduction with the statement that "this book contains the story of a family from the eleventh to the twentieth century." Such contradictory figures are a bit confusing to the reader who has begun the book with great expectations. Fortunately he will not be disappointed, for Mr. Gorges has done his work well on the whole. When he began delving into the records of his family at the beginning of this century, he was by his own confession a rank amateur. But a lifetime of searching and inquiring has taught him much in the ways of historical scholarship. And the advice of experts coupled with a growing sense of the history of England and of his family have prevented him from producing the work of a dilettante. His book is good history, though at times the history of the family is rather confusing. It is to be deeply regretted that Mr. Gorges died in 1943 and had to leave to his wife, Mrs. Grace Vernon Gorges, the task of seeing his memorial through the press.

On the title page Mr. Gorges says that this book is "based on material prepared by the Rev. Frederick Brown." Later he declares that Brown's manuscript on the Gorges family was the foundation of his work. Brown, the antiquary, died in 1886 and left his Gorges manuscript to the rectors of Wraxall church in Somerset. As Brown depended on unreliable printed materials for the early history of the family, Mr. Gorges tells us that he has corrected many of his errors from manuscript sources. The author says that Brown's account of the family in the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is excellent. The presumption is that the greater part of Mr. Gorges' book, which falls in these centuries, is based on the antiquary's work. In dealing with the modern Irish branch of the family Mr. Gorges has compiled its history himself from records and papers at his disposal. It is not the intention of the reviewer to give the impression that the book is more the work of Frederick Brown than of Raymond Gorges. Clearly the latter has cleverly hidden the work of the antiquary in a tale of his own on the fate and fortune of the Gorges family written in a delightful style.

For a book of this type a bibliography would be invaluable to the scholar

and no hindrance to the general reader. But there is none. Neither are there any bibliographical footnotes. There is an index and a satisfactory genealogical table. The author says: "Authorities are noted in a general way, special references only being given for important points of genealogy." This is most unfortunate. Dozens of letters are quoted in full, but for hardly one of them is there a clue from where it was taken. Probably most of them came from the Brown manuscript. Scattered throughout his text Mr. Gorges has noted his authorities, but rarely has he given volume, page, or folio of the work or manuscript he has cited. It is of course impossible to tell whether the author has seen all his citations or has taken many from Brown without consulting them himself. The reviewer has counted forty to fifty such references. There appear such standard old county histories as Hoare's *Wiltshire*, Collinson's *Somerset*, and Hutchin's *Dorset*. Stowe's *Survey* and Leland's *Itinerary* are cited now and then. Patent and Close Rolls have been consulted as well as other material at the Public Record Office. The *Calendar of State Paper Series*, the *Journal of the House of Commons*, and the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, such as the Cecil and Ormonde MSS., all make their fleeting appearance. Mr. Gorges refers to such modern works as Beer's *Origins of the British Colonial System* and Andrews's *Colonial Period of American History* and had access to manuscript letters at Ashton Court in Somerset. All these and more give the scholar a tantalizing taste of what lies behind the story of the Gorges family. For the general reader they serve no purpose except to indicate that Mr. Gorges must know what he is talking about.

His tale is a long one, well and charmingly told. It begins with the village of Gorges in the Cotentin of northern France and crosses the Channel with Ralph de Gorges, one of the followers of William the Conqueror. But it was not until the reign of King John that Sir Thomas de Gorges was the first of the family to settle in England. Quickly the descendants of Sir Thomas began to spread over southwestern England. Actually, Tibbot Russel was the founder of the modern Gorges family. On the death of his uncle, another Ralph de Gorges, in the fourteenth century without direct heirs, Tibbot, on inheriting his extensive lands, assumed the name and arms of Gorges. In this century the manor of Wraxall in Somerset became the chief seat of the family. In the Wars of the Roses the Wraxall Gorges were Yorkists. From Sir Edmund, K.B., who died early in the sixteenth century, the family grew in numbers, estates, and distinction. There were such men as Sir Arthur, the minor Elizabethan poet and courtier, Sir Thomas, Keeper of the Robes to Queen Elizabeth and husband of Spencer's "Man-

silia," Hellena, Marchioness of Northampton, Sir Ferdinando, Lord Proprietor of Maine, and Edward, Lord Gorges of Dundalk, who was welcome at the courts of James I and Charles I. The family came to Ireland when Dr. Robert Gorges was appointed secretary to Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Dr. Robert also served Charles II in that country, from whom he received the manor of Kilbrew in county Meath. Thus was established the Irish line of Gorges whose last representative, Miss Kathleen Webster, cousin of the author, sold the Gorges lands in Ireland to the government of that country in 1926. The sole remaining branch of the family tree is in South Africa where the name is loved and respected. As Mr. Gorges says: "The last male representative of the only line of the Gorges family . . . surviving in England died in 1806." And a little more than a hundred years earlier there had been prolific branches of the family in western and southern England, three in Somerset, two in Wiltshire, one in Devon, and one in Herefordshire. That such luxuriant growth should wither and die so quickly is a sad reflection on the stresses and strains put upon the family during the eighteenth century.

HAROLD HULME

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